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The National Monthly

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Chains!

Breaking the Vicious Circle

The New Unemployment

Meeting the Machine's Challenge

BUDENZ ACQUITTED!

Mitten Management and Union

The Capitalist Revolution

An Old Sea-Man

Company Unionism in Politics

\$2.50 per Year

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

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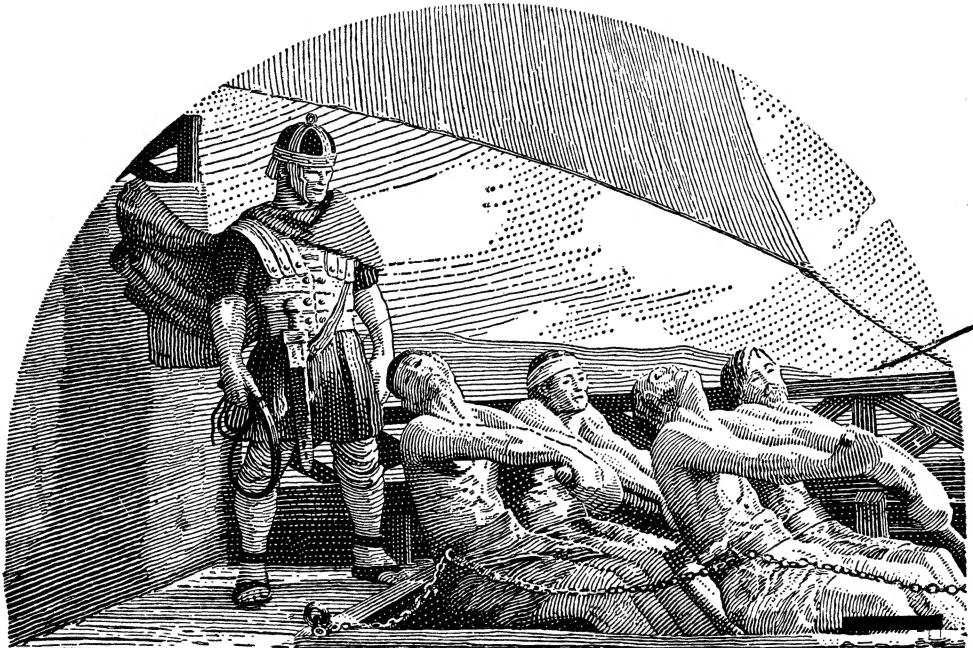
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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Chains!

Seen and Unseen



HERE is a picture of galley slaves at their agonizing toil, which has furnished the General Electric with a theme for an advertisement, the point of it being that one electric motor can do the work of a score of slaves. In this respect, we have progressed.

It will be noted that the slaves are in chains, making it impossible for them to escape from their brutal overseers. It is far cry from the galley slave of old to the present day proud American worker. Slave he is not, nor do chains fetter his limbs. At least, not that they are visible.

Consider the plight of the unorganized worker. Enjoying the fruits of Coolidgean prosperity—10 per cent wage cuts and such like—Company Unionism and Yellow Doggery, knowing that a hundred men are ready to replace him if he loses his job, is it any wonder that he is cowed, shackled mentally by fear? The organized worker, too, figuratively is examining his wrists and

ankles, and wondering when an iniquitous judge will bind him with the chains of a vile injunction.

Then, there is the menace of the new unemployment, which spares neither organized nor unorganized workers.

The situation is such as to cause the labor movement great concern. This is no time for lethargy. Fortunately, there are signs that the movement is beginning to bestir itself, as Brother Budish informs us, and is seeking light to solve its problems. He suggests in his article that Labor must develop a new attitude—it must find strength within itself to surmount all obstacles.

There is need for confidence, for the old fighting spirit. And the first step to regain it is for Labor to begin a vigorous, determined campaign to strike the unseen chains which bind and hamper the unorganized. Victory on that field will bring reinforcements, and with it a galvanization of power that will make for an invincible movement.

Breaking the Vicious Circle

Lessons From Recent Labor Conferences

By J. M. BUDISH

THREE is significant and restless stirring within the ranks of organized labor. Much hard thinking is going on. Deep under-currents of doubts and misgivings are coming to the surface. There is a general feeling that something must be done about it; that the problems with which labor is faced at present demand for their solution something more thorough going than mere local treatment. It seems as if there is something organically wrong, something demanding far-reaching constitutional treatment. It is a good and promising sign that at numerous conferences labor is concentrating its thoughts on a thorough analysis of the situation digging deeply into every major question.

Unemployment is perhaps the gravest of these problems, both because of its immediate effects and because of its implications. All experts agree that the total number of unemployed at the present time must be over 4,000,000.

"Prosperity's" Unemployment

The problem is even more serious because the present unemployment is not so much a result of bad times, known as cyclical depressions of business, but is mainly a result of our technical progress. The improvements in modern machinery, the great increase in the efficiency of labor, the better methods of production, are creating an ever-growing surplus of labor. Every industry is in a position to produce increased quantities of goods with a substantially reduced labor force. It is estimated that manufacturing, transportation, mining and agriculture, employed in 1926 2,000,000 less workers than in 1919, a reduction of 18 per cent in the number of people employed by them. The output of these industries however, increased during the same period 25 per cent. But this kind of unemployment resulting from greater efficiency and improved machinery is, according to the *Journal of Commerce*, likely to grow worse rather than better when business conditions improve. "Business prosperity, far from curing technological unemployment, may tend to aggravate it by stimulating invention and encouraging all sorts of industrial rationalization schemes." So prosperity is no remedy for the present unemployment. What then is to be done about it?

Recent Labor Conferences

A series of labor conferences held recently in New York, Boston, Mass., Newark, N. J., Springfield, Mass., and Reading, Pa., attended by many delegates, representing all sections and branches of organized labor, tackled this problem. There was hardly any difference of opinion at these conferences with regard to the diagnosis of the trouble. As Prof. Lansburgh put it at the Reading conference, "Industry has become 10 per cent more efficient each year for the past five years and is 50 per cent more productive today than it was in 1923. But the total purchasing power of the nation has not

increased in the same rate that production has risen, with the result that we simply have lost the ability to buy enough to keep industry running." The same thought was expressed by Wm. T. Foster of the Pollak Foundation, at the Boston conference, and Prof. Taylor at the New York Conference.

So much for the diagnosis. Now as to the cure. Two kinds of remedies were suggested. One group of remedies is intended to supply immediate relief. Unemployment insurance on a national scale and out of work benefits as that provided in the cap and clothing trades might help to relieve the distress among the unemployed. Carefully directed public works may absorb a certain number of idlers. But the only way in which a real cure may be attempted is by eliminating the cause of the disease, by reducing the hours of labor and increasing the purchasing power of the people to the same extent as the productivity of industry is rising. At all the mentioned conferences it was the unanimous opinion of the representatives of labor that reduced hours of labor and increased wages are the only remedies of lasting effect. With shorter hours of labor, a larger number of people will have to be employed; with higher wages the ability of the people to buy the products of our industries will be increased. This will enable the people to buy enough to keep industry running, and will reduce unemployment to a minimum.

Shorter Hours and Higher Wages

The problem therefore reduces itself to the question of how these remedies can be secured. Little hope can be put on legislative enactment even with regard to measures of immediate relief. Both dominant parties are lavish in their professions of friendship to labor. They are however miserly when it comes to the enactment of any law which will afford any relief to the workers. And when such a law is ever enacted the courts take good care to emaciate it or to annul it outright. When we keep in mind what happened to the Minimum Wage Laws, Child Labor Laws and the Clayton Act, we easily realize how little hope can be put on legislative relief. The major remedies, however, the securing of higher wages and shorter hours, depend exclusively upon the efforts of organized labor alone. At the New York conference it was strongly emphasized that trade union control is indispensable in dealing with remedies for technological unemployment.

This brings us to another fundamental problem with which labor is confronted at the present time, namely, the organization of the unorganized. The last two conventions of the American Federation of Labor devoted much time and attention to this question. The organization of the unorganized was also the special subject of discussion at the Youth Conference at Brookwood and at a recent conference under the auspices of

the Labor College at Philadelphia. It really is the pivotal question. We cannot hope to make any real progress in the way of securing remedial measures, not to speak of any fundamental remedies, without a much larger degree of organization than at present. As long as 75 per cent or more of all the wage earners remain outside the ranks of organized labor, compelled to accept any conditions or wages offered by the employers, little can be done by way of securing shorter hours and increased wages; in any case not on a scale which will affect to any extent the purchasing power of the people. In order to secure any improvement in the present deplorable situation organized labor must not only maintain its positions but must organize many more millions of unorganized workers. Only by such organization can anything be accomplished to remedy substantially the present almost hopeless condition.

The Vicious Circle

But when we reach this conclusion it seems that we have come back to the original problem. It is like a vicious circle. We must organize in order to be able to make any progress towards the solution of the present serious problems faced by labor. But these very problems interfere with and make almost impossible any substantial progress in the organization of the unorganized. The severe unemployment weakens the position of organized labor. It weakens its bargaining power. It creates unfavorable conditions for the organization of the unorganized. These objective difficulties are greatly increased by the hostile attitude of the government and the courts. The New York conference quite properly combined the question of unemployment with that of injunctions. As Vice-President Woll of the A. F. of L. pointed out at that conference, the attitude and practice of the injunction courts endangers the very existence of every labor organization and converts the constitutional right of organizing into a mere fiction. The situation now has almost reached a climax. The vicious circle must be broken, but how? Prof. Lansburgh suggested at the Reading conference that "We must change the whole psychological attitude of the public at large, business men, workers and financier." To this writer it would seem that first and foremost there must be a fundamental change in the psychological attitude of organized labor.

The Non-Union Man

Whether we like it or not we must come to recognize that labor in this country as everywhere else can count only on its own strength; that the very idea that labor may be helped by any non-labor "friends" is inherently wrong and has been proven so by all our experience. There may be individuals outside of the ranks of labor who are truly sympathetic to the labor cause. There are such individuals. But as long as they remain part and parcel of the great party machines that control the government at present they at best can do nothing more than sometimes say a few kind words in behalf of labor. When it comes to things that count they would not or cannot accomplish much. But as long as workers still nourish a lingering hope that relief may come from some non-labor source, this state of mind will interfere with the organizing of such workers. What is

more, it is bound to dampen our own organizing zeal, however little we may be conscious of it. The Stone Cutters' Journal for April attempts in a lengthy editorial to find the key to the heart and mind of the non-union man. The editorial concludes that the non-union man "stands as a combination of fear and absence of self-confidence." "The Union man," the same editorial continues, "is the one who is capable of comprehending that the only advancement for wage workers must come through the united endeavors of wage workers" themselves. It is in this difference of mental attitude that the crux of the entire problem lies.

"Recognition by the Workers"

By way of illustration, let us quote the experience of my own Organization of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. In the March issue of the American Federationist, President Zaritsky describes an organizing campaign conducted with the slogan of securing "Recognition by the workers and not by the employers." We cannot enter here into a consideration of that campaign. Enough to say that when the campaign was started the situation was almost hopeless; that at the beginning it looked as if such a project would meet with scanty response. But the results exceeded all expectations. A different mental attitude on the part of the workers was created; an attitude of relying exclusively upon their own forces, of caring naught whether the employers recognized them or not. This changed mental attitude enabled us to organize thousands of workers and secure comparatively high standards of working conditions and wages for them, though no signed agreements were secured from the employers. How important a part the mental attitude of the workers played in assuring the unprecedented success of that organization campaign was emphasized by President Zaritsky at the Convention of that International Union when he stated, perhaps over-emphasizing it a little, that "that slogan of recognition by the workers and not by the bosses, organized the millinery trade."

Changed Attitude Indispensable

Modern psychology emphasizes the power of concentration. This holds good for the individual as well as for the masses; perhaps, even to a greater degree in the latter case. A change in the psychological attitude on the part of the great masses of the American workers is an indispensable preliminary condition for the success of any great organizing campaign. Only when organized labor will concentrate all its efforts on the education of the working people to the effect that whether they wish it or not *the wage earners are a class by themselves who can hope for relief from no other source but themselves, only then will we be able to create a state of mind among the millions of workers which will make it possible to bring about their organization.* It is not an easy way. It may involve the losing of some sincere but helpless friends. But considering all the facts established at the recent labor conference, one cannot help coming to the conclusion that it is the only way, however hard it may be. *A fundamental change of the psychological attitude of organized labor is the key which will open the door towards the solution of the great problems with which labor is confronted at the present time.*

Mitten Management and Union

Some Straightforward Questions

By A. J. MUSTE

MARCH 25, 1928 may yet prove to be a date of transcendent importance for the American labor movement. On that day, Mitten Management of Philadelphia and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Employees of America (the union) signed an agreement. What does this agreement provide for?

Briefly, it applies not to any properties that Mitten Management now owns or controls and on which the men are organized in the Amalgamated Union. It applies to "properties that are to be acquired or operated by Mitten Management in the future." Specifically, the union agrees not to disturb the Philadelphia Rapid Transit and the Buffalo Street Railways, which the union has repeatedly tried to organize and on the latter of which it had a bitter fight only a couple of years ago.

On lines that may be acquired or controlled by Mitten Management in the future, the desire on the part of management to deal with the union is expressed whenever two-thirds of the employes on such a system or department of a system by secret ballot may so elect.

Also, when on any such system or department of it, two-thirds of the employes by secret ballot indicate their desire for it, the "50-50 cooperative plan" now operating on the Philadelphia and Buffalo systems is to be put into effect. (The agreement would appear to mean that organization is to be permitted only when at the same time there is a two-thirds vote for adopting the cooperative plan.) Under this cooperative plan, the workers agree to work loyally for efficient service; in return, after wages, interest and all other charges are paid, the remaining profits are divided 50 per cent to the workers and 50 per cent to Mitten Management. The share of the workers goes into a fund by means of which they purchase stocks in the company they work for, thus also presently "sharing in the control" of the company, becoming capitalists themselves, as Mr. Mitten puts it.

Where two-thirds of the workers so vote, the check-off will be applied to all employes in a given system or department, the proceeds to be paid into the union treasury. Mr. Mitten also will pay into a fund for sick and other benefits, administered by the union, the sum of \$1 per month for every man employed.

Arbitration Provided For

The contract may be terminated by a two-thirds vote in secret ballot, but otherwise all difficulties are to be arbitrated, the arbitrator to be the Public Service Commission in any case where the two parties concerned cannot agree on a third arbitrator.

When cooperation between Mitten Management and the union has achieved the same results on these other properties as the Mitten plan has achieved in Philadelphia and Buffalo, then the question of organizing the

workers in these latter cities into the union may be taken up for consideration again.

A good deal of mystery surrounds the making of this agreement at this time. It is impossible to pass final judgment on it in the present state of our knowledge. Even a moment's consideration, however, indicates that it contains such wide possibilities that the discussion of them in a spirit of inquiry ought to be begun at once. One might, for example, very profitably inquire what Mr. Mitten himself is aiming at. For the present, however, we approach the matter from the other side and ask what this agreement may signify for the development of the American labor movement.

If the reader will hold that question for a moment and also keep his eye on the points in the Mitten-Mahon agreement already cited, let me ask another question. What are the distinguishing marks of a company union as against a trade union?

1. The trade union is built up by the workers. They suffer; they want a bigger living and a better life. Being unable under modern conditions to do anything about it individually, they combine to get rid of their suffering and to improve their conditions. The company union, on the other hand, started out as an attack on trade unionism, an attempt to undermine it. The company union is built up, in the first instance, by the boss, not by the workers. The workers may, for one reason or another, accept it, but it starts not because they feel the need of it but because the boss feels the need of something.

Are Profits Paramount?

2. It follows naturally that the first and chief business of a union is to protect its members and get advantage for them. It believes that if it does this job effectively, it will in the long run achieve the good of industry and of society in general. It has no objection to "cooperating" to make industry efficient, insofar as this is possible and compatible with the good of the workers under existing conditions. The company union is devised primarily to secure production, to keep business running smoothly for the boss, so that the profits may roll in. The boss these days being a big corporation usually, cannot deal with all his workers individually to make them "feel good," so he organizes a company union with a lot of so-called benefit features attached, to keep the works running smoothly. Some bosses seem to believe that if they get production, and the profits keep rolling in, the workers will benefit as a matter of course in the long run. The union believes that if the workers are taken care of, production, industrial progress, social well-being, will come as a matter of course. Take your choice.

3. The union is a fighting organization. This does not mean that it has a policy of striking for the sake

of striking, or that it just loves to fight. It means simply that so long as it deserves its name, a union will not relinquish its right to fight for its members when it is necessary, and it knows that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," that neither freedom nor any other good thing in life is handed to people on a silver platter. A company union is not a fighting organization. In the main, it is a peace-at-any-price organization. Has anyone ever heard of a company union putting up a fight against injunctions? Has anyone ever heard of a company union battling against child labor, or for minimum wage legislation, or shorter hours for women, or labor candidates for office? Practically all company unions are tied up so that they cannot strike. Of course, the boss assures the workers that they never need to, but you could "tell that to the marines."

4. The union is controlled by its own officers and members. It builds up a treasury, develops leadership, morale, unity of purpose in its members. It links up the workers in a given trade or industry throughout the country. For all these reasons, a union develops real power to work and struggle for the accomplishment of its aims. Because the company union is always confined to some one mill or corporation and provides no means for all the workers in a trade or industry to act together, as well as for other reasons already indicated, the company union never achieves any real power.

Be it noted that trade unionism which we have been describing here is not radical or outlaw or Bolshevik unionism; it is the bona-fida trade unionism with which the name of Samuel Gompers is identified.

The Contrast

Now, I want to ask in a spirit of deep concern, and with no other purpose than to get at the truth, do we have in this Mitten Agreement an extreme illustration of a tendency for the trade union to transform itself into a company union, a tendency to company-unionize the trade union? Let us take our points of contrast between the company union and the trade union, one by one. All the real unions have been conceived and built by the workers out of their needs, by their toil, struggle and suffering. Workers have died, plenty of them, that the American labor movement might be built. Here is an agreement made for workers not yet employed by Mitten Management, and who, at least so far as any evidence here presented goes, may not yet know of the existence of the Amalgamated union. Everything indicates certainly that these workers, whoever they may be, have not been consulted about this agreement. It seems inconceivable that it should go into effect anywhere as a result of their toil, struggle and suffering. Does anyone who knows anything about organization work and about the past struggles of the Street Railway Workers suppose that a two-thirds vote by secret ballot for joining the union and putting the cooperative plan into operation can be obtained anywhere on Mitten properties, if Mitten Management is opposed? If Mr. Mitten is not convinced, for example, that he would get real "cooperative efficiency"?

Let me make it clear that I am in no sense casting doubt upon Mr. Mitten's sincerity. I am dealing with

the tendencies of a movement, not with the motives of a man. Is this not a union made for the workers perhaps, but certainly not by them, and what kind of a union is that?

In the second place, the primary purpose of a union is to protect its members and gain material and spiritual advantage for them, and trade unionism has insisted that in so doing it was serving the cause of industry and society. The union envisaged in this agreement also claims to provide numerous benefits for the workers, greater ones, in fact, than the old fashioned trade unionism did. But it will hardly be questioned that this agreement is primarily the child of Mr. Mitten's brain. Certainly, Mr. Mitten himself does not question that. And is not Mr. Mitten's primary concern efficient production? Is it not also true that Mitten Management gets 50 per cent of the extra profits? Does not the agreement clearly specify that the test of unionism on properties still to be acquired is to be whether they achieve the same measure of "cooperative efficiency" as the company union has achieved in Philadelphia and Buffalo? Now, the union may be wrong in holding that if it looks out for its members, the good of industry and society will be achieved, and Mr. Mitten may be right in holding that if you provide efficiency, "good business," and the union makes it its first aim to cooperate with the employer to that end, this will secure benefits for its members; but the fact remains that until now we have always held that a union is a trade union, if it makes it its primary aim to protect its members, and a company union when it makes it its primary aim to secure an efficient production under a capitalist system—for Bethlehem Steel, for example, or the Harvester Trust or the Interborough Rapid Transit, or Mitten Management, shall we add?

What Becomes of Militancy?

Thirdly, is it conceivable that a union which operates under this agreement should be a fighting organism? Having signed this agreement with Mitten Management in advance, can the union go to men who are to come under it with a plea that has any militancy behind it? And once a body of men accepts this agreement, has it not virtually abandoned the right to strike? By a two-thirds secret ballot it can get out from under. What chance is there of getting such a vote if Mr. Mitten objects? Short of that, everything must be settled by arbitration, the arbitration of a Public Service Commission. Once again, is this a trade union or a company union?

Fourthly, if there be any point to what has already been said, does it not become a serious question as to whether a union under this sentiment can develop the vitality, the spirit, the leadership, the independence, the self-respect, the real power which characterizes bona-fida trade unionism? Perhaps someone may wonder why it is necessary to raise all these questions, since this agreement itself unblushingly states that the union is to be measured by whether it produces the same results as the company union has produced in the Philadelphia Rapid Transit and the Buffalo Street Railways.

Let us waive altogether for the moment the question



As the Locomotive Engineers' Journal pictures the grim spectre of unemployment which stalks through industry.

What can Labor do? It can devise a courageous program based on the facts, and then, work like fury for it.

whether the development we are here discussing is good or bad. Is it not true that if we don't have here a radical trade unionism, neither do we have here by any stretch of the imagination the trade unionism of Samuel Gompers?

And I raise a final question as to whether we do not have somewhere in the world, brought to its full flower, the kind of unionism that is here apparently in process of being born—namely, under Mussolini in Italy? For Mussolini has his unions. Modern industry cannot get along without some method of dealing with men, some means for keeping the machinery of production oiled, but Italy has Fascist unionism existing under a capitalist system, a unionism that began by destroying the labor movement, that was conceived by Mussolini, not by the workers, that is primarily meant to gear into the machinery of production in Italy and the purposes of the Italian government, secondarily to benefit the workers, that exists for "peace" and has practically no right to strike, that has no real power over Fascist industry!

Is there any real difference between this Fascist unionism and company unionism?

Suppose the type of unionism that we have been describing becomes real in this country, as Mr. Mitten earnestly hopes it shall, have we any sound ground for believing that the capitalists who have fought bitterly against bona-fide trade unionism will permit this unionism to develop real power and aggressiveness? If it attempts to assert itself and clashes with the employers' will, is it not altogether likely that a dictatorship in industry, and then in government will follow? Looking at the poverty, the humiliation, the slavery of the workers in Italy, do we want this? On the other hand, once the power of the trade union movement has been weakened by company unionism, what assurance is there that most employers, even if not Mr. Mitten, will not drop this weapon which they took up in order to crush the unions? In any case, if some such dangers or evils are ahead, is it not better to try to combat them now than to wait until they have grown more formidable?

The New Unemployment

Industry's Responsibility to Jobless

By HORACE TAYLOR

HERE probably is no more striking demonstration today of the old maxim "out of sight, out of mind" than the attitude of people—even of those involved in the labor movement—toward unemployment. Back in the dismal days of 1921-22 unemployment was a subject of the first importance. Many words were spoken and written in disparagement of it, and a number of serious attempts were made to arrive at an understanding of the problem and, if possible, to effect a solution to it. The President of the United States took steps which resulted in the appointment of The National Bureau of Economic Research, a group of highly qualified experts, to study unemployment. A report of this group's findings, including several suggestive recommendations, was published in 1923. But by the time anything very significant had been learned about the subject, interest in it had ceased to exist. The depressed state of business which had been responsible for the large number of men without jobs had given way to a booming prosperity. And, in the excitement of "business as usual," there was no general desire to revive the sober specter of unemployment.

Yet the ghost was not laid. Our consciousness of a return of unemployment has grown steadily during the past few months. There are no adequate statistics reporting the number of men out of work, but a convincing set of evidences have been educed which indicate that unemployment has again reached serious proportions. One reliable unofficial agency, The Labor Bureau, Inc., has estimated from such data as are available that four million people who ordinarily work are without jobs today. And, as we review the facts that we have, it seems probable that the condition has been growing gradually for the past two or three years. Because of the lack of adequate statistical information, unemployment must be large before we are aware that it exists. The present condition has crept upon us stealthily, with none of the dramatic suddenness which marked the slump of 1921. The difference is a significant one and warrants our deepest concern.

Two Types

Unemployment always occurs for the simple reason that employers do not find it profitable to hire all the people who are seeking work. Back of this simple reason lie some rather complicated conditions. The causes which impel large numbers of employers to reduce their working forces at the same time are of two broad classes, commercial and technological. The commercial causes may be further divided into two classes, seasonal and cyclical. Unemployment due to seasonal causes is that which arises from changes in the demand for or the supply of goods which occur at certain fairly definite times in the year. The well-known "off periods"

in the clothing industries are typical. Unemployment due to cyclical causes is that which arises from a generally depressed state of business in which production slows down because goods cannot be sold for enough to cover the costs of making them. The depression of 1921-22 is typical.

The unemployment which has been developing during the past two or three years is not due primarily to commercial causes, although its later phases may have been intensified by cyclical conditions. It is obvious that the steady growth in the number of persons out of work during the past two or three years has occurred independently of conditions which apply at certain times in each year. Neither has there been any catastrophic general slump in business or industry such as usually precedes a cyclical period of depression. It is true that the level of prices of non-agricultural goods is somewhat lower at present than it was three years ago; but the decline of prices has been fairly regular and consistent—not precipitous as is the case when a general liquidation occurs. The physical volume of production of manufactured goods probably is somewhat smaller today than it was two years ago; but the Department of Commerce index of factory output shows that the slight decrease in production which has occurred did not commence until the second half of 1927. Employment in manufacturing industries had been declining for many months before any falling off in production occurred. For these reasons the present large extent of unemployment does not appear to be due primarily to commercial causes, either seasonal or cyclical. For the same reasons it does appear to be due primarily to technological causes.

Technical Changes

Unemployment due to technological causes is that which arises from changes in the prevailing modes of making goods. When operations which formerly have been done by hand come to be performed by machines, or when the work within a plant is so reorganized, or "serialized," or converted from a number of separate operations into a single "continuous process", technological unemployment results. Notorious historic examples of it are the introduction of the Mergenthaler linotype machine which displaced many hand compositors from their jobs, and the invention of the semi-automatic and automatic bottle-making machines which wiped out the ancient art of glass bottle blowing. Ever since the beginnings of the factory system of production we have been accustomed to a certain amount of technological unemployment. But, in the past, new industries and new occupations developed rapidly enough to provide work for more people than were displaced from their jobs by changes in the modes of making goods.

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That does not appear to be the case today. And also, in the past, the loss of jobs for reasons such as these ordinarily occurred in different industries at different times. At present there appear to be fundamental changes in production methods occurring in many industries at the same time. The best estimates that we have speak for themselves. The volume of production in manufacturing industries today probably is as large as the average of the period 1923-1925. And yet, in spite of the probability that many persons who otherwise would be out of work have been absorbed in non-manufacturing occupations, a conservative judgment places the number of unemployed today at four millions.

Wage rates have been high since the war; interest rates have remained consistently low. Such conditions provide a broad stimulus to employers to introduce new machines and to reorganize their productive processes. In planning rooms and laboratories all over the country manufacturers have been seeking ways of reducing their operating costs. Under the existing conditions, the ways which have been discovered have normally involved the use of new machines and techniques and fewer employees. A suggestive article by Mr. L. P. Alford, which was published in the November 1926 issue of the technical journal *Manufacturing Industries*, described one hundred recent cases of technological change in different manufacturing plants. All of the changes described resulted in larger production or in reduced numbers of employees; many of them resulted in both increased output and fewer workers. Another technical journal, *Factory, the Magazine of Business*, in its issue of December 1926, described approximately one hundred recently devised types of mechanical conveyors and materials handling equipment. These new contrivances undoubtedly have eliminated many back-breaking jobs; but aside from the disagreeableness of the tasks assumed by the machines, the important fact is that they have reduced the number of jobs. These citations of technological change are insignificant in comparison with the total amount of it that is going on in manufacturing industries. Yet they are typical and illustrative of the process.

Radical Remedies Required

All evidences point to a steadily increasing technological unemployment. It is an extraordinary condition. And to deal with it effectively, extraordinary measures are necessary. The remedies for unemployment which have been advocated for seasonal and cyclical conditions are not applicable to this problem. Thus the plan to concentrate the construction of public works in periods of depression so as to supply jobs when they are most needed is an admirable expedient for cyclical unemployment. But it is not a remedy for steadily increasing technological unemployment. In like manner unemployment insurance, while capable of distributing among insured people the risks of hardships due to the loss of jobs, cannot function if, because of technological change, the risk is changed to a certainty that large numbers of people will be unemployed. The stabilization

of production, while it often has effected reductions in seasonal unemployment, offers no assurance that people will be kept at work when the methods of production are changing. All of these ways of combatting or alleviating unemployment are useful for their own purposes. But none of them will prevent or relieve the loss of jobs which is due to technological change.

It also seems clear that efforts made by unions to secure shorter working days or weeks, while often commendable in themselves, will not prevent the displacement of workers by changes in methods of production. Insofar as shorter periods of work tend to increase operating costs, employers are more than ever induced to find ways and means to reduce their labor forces. Restriction of output through "soldiering on the job" is ineffectual for the same reason.

In those industrial fields which are strongly unionized the most direct—and also the most promising—attack on the problem is through collective bargaining with employers. The labor movement in the past, has devoted its efforts to securing high wages, short working periods, and favorable working conditions, with little attention to assuring the regularity and permanency of work. A new policy on the part of organized labor, one which would plan for the future as well as take care of immediate needs, would have to take into account the prevention of unemployment of any type or cause. United pressure on employers to guarantee that persons forced out of employment by changes in methods of production would be provided with jobs in other parts of the plant would be a start toward the prevention of technological unemployment. Under the conditions of such a guarantee, the employer would be forced to consider the consequences to his employes of changes in productive methods.

Guarantees

Even the most enlightened and fairest employers are not able singlehandedly to guarantee employment, or payment in case of unemployment, to their employes. To stay in business they must be able to compete with other employers who are less enlightened and less fair than themselves. It is equally true, however, that many employers would not be able to pay the rates of wages demanded by the union unless their competitors were compelled to pay the same rates. In like manner it follows that borrowers of capital would not be able to pay interest on their borrowings unless other borrowers also had to pay interest. Employers can guarantee their employes against technical unemployment only when such guarantees are in general effect in their respective industries. Organized labor is the only agency for producing the general effect.

The "out of sight, out of mind" attitude never will solve any phase of the unemployment problem. A large amount of systematic study and careful planning is required. The need of a policy that will deal effectively with technological unemployment is a challenge to the farsightedness of the labor movement.

Meeting the Machine's Challenge

How Workers May Reap Benefits of Increased Productivity

By FANNIA M. COHN

A YEAR ago, a distinguished historian and economist of a mid-Western University said to me, "I wonder whether the labor movement has the remotest idea of what is happening in the world of business? It seems to me that labor leaders have very little cognizance, for instance, of the fact that some of the best minds of the country are being trained in new industrial methods and employed by the industrial interests in studying the details of every process of their manufacturing. The worker is being analyzed and psycho-analyzed without his knowledge. Every factor is food for research—his productivity—how it can be multiplied—and, furthermore, how great the contribution is which he, the worker, makes to the machine."

According to this economist's assertion, this detailed analysis of the worth of labor has been going on since the outbreak of the war and the research has been still more intensified since the armistice.

His statement recalled to my memory a conversation I had several years ago with a person connected with the labor movement in a research capacity. In our discussion, this man continually reiterated his insistence of the necessity of having labor cooperate with employers in a determined effort to increase productivity. This, to him, meant a total elimination of waste and, naturally, the introduction of an efficient and scientific form of management.

To my question as to how this would work out in practice, to the worker's and the consumer's gain, his answer was quick.

"Labor must get together with Capital. It must convince Capital of its good faith, of its willingness to cooperate."

I insisted further: "Before Labor gets together with Capital, Labor must first know the problems which mass production creates for the worker. It must make a study of these problems which this mutual effort at solution brings to the round table of discussion. Further, Labor must do this research independently of Capital. On the basis of its findings it must work out a tentative program based upon facts and present it for mutual discussion at the conference."

I pointed out to him the humiliation of having Labor invite Capital to a round table discussion on efficiency and come unprepared to the meeting. Like a beggar with nothing to offer, it would be looking up to Capital to provide it with information and would only succeed in exposing its poverty in the comprehension and the possession of industrial facts.

These two conversations made the situation very clear to me. In its study of the problem of unemployment, Labor must use the same weapon of research so successfully wielded by Capital in its newest revolutionizing of industry. Armed with knowledge of the situation it can command the confidence of its workers who

feel that their interests are protected and by bringing its case to the round table of discussion Labor will be able to command respect from Capital and the public—a respect based on the knowledge that Labor is able to contribute to the solution of industrial problems.

Undoubtedly it can be said that the Labor Movement missed its opportunity in the past. It might have taken the lead to enlighten workers and the general public as to the possible effects of what was going on in industry. It might have taken the lead in preparing a program to protect organized workers in our newest industrial revolution. At the same time it would thus have held out some hope and offered guidance to unorganized workers. By an example of leadership in a crisis, it would inspire them with confidence that their hopes, as well, rest with the labor movement.

Has Not Reached Peak

Our new industrial revolution of increased productivity, of improved machinery and management was by no means effected over night. This change in industry was a gradual process of development, covering many years. According to prominent industrial technicians, it has not yet reached its peak. Therefore, it is not too late for the labor movement to get to work on these problems, as effectively and quickly as possible with an eye toward the future as well as to the present. Of course, some might say:

"The industries which are controlled by the labor movement did not undergo as great a change. Hence, the attention of the movement was not focused on the problem." This is true. The reason for our disinterested attitude can undoubtedly be explained. Still, as a movement, we should be more farsighted. Something more than the immediate present should concern us.

From a selfish viewpoint even, the Labor movement should have put the question to itself: "How long can the management of industries which employ organized workers remain static? How long can it continue on its present basis?"

History teaches us that no one industry remains independent of the influence of another. It does not need very close scrutiny to note that in industries where the American Labor Movement has contractual relations an immense change has taken place in their volume of production, their scientific management and their development of more efficient machinery. Capital, in its disregard of the workers' interests during the process of technological improvement, offers a challenge to the labor movement. It is a challenge which the movement will have to meet in order to protect organized and unorganized labor, the public at large and, also, in the long run, in order to save its own existence.

The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators, in its March issue, did a great service to the labor move-

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ment by compiling and presenting an excellent survey of industrial conditions, under the headlines "Will American Industry Commit Labor Suicide?" and "Far Flung Revolution Dictated by Machines." The effect of the new production methods on about fifteen industries is minutely described here. The workers employed in these industries are now being organized into trade unions. The report shows, for instance, that among the Seamen there is a shrinkage of worker power of approximately 4,000 per cent; that class 1 railroads in October 1927 employed 13 per cent fewer men than in 1923; that among the dock workers, automatic machinery to unload ships is doing the work of 300 men. The article reveals figures of the Department of Commerce, showing that from 1920 to 1925 the number of tractors on farms in the United States was increased by 105.9 per cent. Where formerly it required several hundred glass blowers to create the necessary supply of five-gallon carboys needed in the United States, now one single machine can manufacture the whole supply.

This is the simple story of the effect of the new production methods on our industries.

In the Basic Industries

The account of these changes, however, does not take into consideration the immense revolution affected in the basic industries, where the workers are not as yet organized into trade unions. There, grievances are not freely being voiced and very few are interested in finding out possible effects of the industrial change on the earnings and on the very lives of the workers.

One result, however, is obvious without much research. The individual worker undoubtedly produces more than he did formerly. If total production does not increase correspondingly to this increased productivity, the result is that fewer workers are employed to provide merchandise for the market. Consequently, many workers are thrown on the scrap heap and added to the unemployed. These have hardly any purchasing power. Since workers are so interdependent, these conditions rapidly become worse and immediately affect every other industry. The army of unemployed becomes swelled. And in the long run, the unemployment evil strikes even the worker who is not affected by the change in productivity in his industry.

"We are obtaining more and better industrial equipment only at the price of heavy investment in unemployment and human misery," declares Sumner H. Slichter, professor of economics, Cornell University, in an article in the *New Republic*, "We are not getting a bargain. We are purchasing progress at a high price, and the cost falls largely on those least able to bear it. The greater our success in stabilizing the business cycle, the more plainly we find unemployment created by technical progress staring us in the face. Both practice and expediency demand that the community provide itself with sufficient dollar purchasing power so that the victim of progress may have an opportunity to produce."

So far I have been concerned solely with the economic well-being of the worker. There is still another aspect to this phenomenon of our latest industrial revolution. This is the danger, that, through a highly mechanized industry, the worker will gradually be deprived of all opportunity for mental development.

With the excessive simplification of industry as it is at present controlled, the worker is used in tasks of dulling repetition. The human being, in comparison with the machine, is tolerated only where it still pays to keep him or where the machine must have a human hand to assist it.

"The industrial revolution," declares Professor Guy Ruxford Tugwell, Columbia University, in his excellent book, *Industry's Coming of Age*, "has completely denuded the worker of responsibility, just as also it has stolen away his skill. Workers are no longer as useful as workers (distinguished from managers and devoted to the function of moving and manipulating) and tend to obstruct rather than to advance productivity. They survive only as inferior machines (because they seem cheaper) and are rapidly being displaced. It is true, however, that many whom we call workers ought to be identified as lesser managers. Even this latter group will gradually be replaced by machinery."

Danger to Civilization

So we obviously must stop and ponder over this problem. Is the machine—man's invention—going to destroy him? Will the machine which held out so much promise to the worker deprive him of his daily bread and, as a result, enslave him to those who possess it. If modern industrialism led to the accumulation of the wealth of nations into the hands of a few and made the workers economically dependent upon Capital, the newest development of the automatic machine makes the unskilled millions of the industrial army dependent upon the industrial technicians. In a word, all the skill of industry will be concentrated in a few persons. We cannot pass by this possibility without emphasizing the danger for civilization if its success depends upon a few high priests, be they religious, technical, scientific, capatilistic or intellectual.

My reaction to Professor Tugwell's description of Labor's growing lack of skill is an immediate one. If the individual worker is deprived of skill, then the union, which represents him, should take possession of that skill. It should convert it into a strength that will be a bulwark of protection to all workers. I am not as pessimistic as some are when confronted with this new situation. Though I feel that every age takes care of itself, my optimism is based on a distinctly practical solution. We must not be over-dependent on miracles. The new phenomenon of intensive "Organization" can be controlled only by "Organization". The organized power of Capital which, in amassing wealth, has forgotten its responsibility to the workers, must be checked and controlled by a strong organized labor movement. Such a movement should remind Capital that the goal of humanity is not industrial progress at the expense of human happiness. How is this to be achieved? How can these millions of workers in the essential industries be organized? How can labor challenge great corporations which are backed not only by billions of dollars but also by all the power of the press, of political parties, and of the judiciary?

A Crusading Spirit

It seems to me that what the Labor movement needs now more than ever before is courage and self-reliance

—that confidence in its own strength which comes from a strong faith in an idea. It needs the spirit of the crusader. One does not want to turn prophet and foretell hard times in store for the labor movement. And yet I cannot help feeling that Labor will find the utmost difficulty in retaining its present position, unless it meets this new industrial revolution courageously. The advent of company unions, can be traced to this new development. So can the increasing difficulty of organizing workers into trade unions.

But before coming out with an appeal to workers to join the labor movement in an effort to protect their homes, their freedom as citizens, even their very right to earn a living, the Labor movement must prepare a constructive program. This program will have to be based on investigations and on incontrovertible facts.

Of course, no one expects a single International union to achieve much by itself. This job must be done by all the unions collectively under the leadership of the A. F. of L. We are glad to note that the Research Department of the A. F. of L. has made a good beginning in preparing various studies upon problems facing the Labor movement.

The Labor movement has a historic mission to perform. It is expected to come out strongly with solid facts to show organized and unorganized workers the dangers they will encounter, unless they are protected by the power of strong organizations with intelligent leadership. In this constructive program it will be assisted by many forward looking economists who realize the dangers that confront labor. The labor movement will also get the support of every intelligent and progressive citizen in whose interest it is that labor's interests be protected with shorter hours and enough pay to keep the life of the community going.

Of course, many sceptics will question the advisability of discussing the unemployment situation without making any definite suggestion as to its solution. To these I would say that the first and most important step in the remedy of industrial and social evils is to call attention to their existence. Secondly, it is important to point out their causes; thirdly to emphasize their destructive effect on the masses of people—whether this effect is physical, moral or mental. And, lastly, the researcher into such evils must place the responsibility for them. The call for action must come after all this preparatory work.

A Charge on Industry

Many writers dealing with this subject have, of course, pointed out remedies for the situation. Even these are hardly definite. Most of them are still in a formative state. As none of them claims to be a panacea and to settle all difficulties with a stroke of the pen, this is inevitable. But almost all emphasize the fact that the most important thing is that *labor must become a permanent charge on and not a casual expense to industry*.

We obviously have reached the stage where workers are advised to claim as much attention from industry as the landlord, banker and management expert receive. Workers' earnings should not be based on the day, week or month but should be figured on a yearly basis. The worker should claim a minimum scale of wages sufficient for an American standard of decent living. The

A. F. of L. went on record with its belief that with the increased productivity of the worker the working day and week must be shortened. Now is the time to bring this into effect. But shorter hours alone will not remedy the situation unless they are accompanied by higher wages.

We suffer because the mass of the people is not consuming enough. With the exception of a minority, our population is not earning enough annually—in real wages—to purchase all that modern industry offers. As the resolution adopted at the A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City demands, wages must be based on and commensurate with the worker's productivity and with the cost of living. Shorter hours and more pay will not alone remedy the situation. The strong point which must be insisted upon by Labor is that the worker have steady employment. Interrupted employment decreases workers' annual earnings immediately. This seems to be the only remedy which, not only will keep our industries going, but will also encourage the development of new industries. And these, in turn, will absorb the workers who are compelled to leave their former occupations due to technological improvements. Many economists insist, however, that until the workers are absorbed by the new industries, there should be a replacement fund to tide them over a period of unemployment.

Uncertain Benefits

The whole basis of our labor program is built upon the idea that the worker's attitude to his country in the industrial field should not be considered less important than the soldier serving his government in a military capacity. Not less than the soldier, the worker should be confident of old age security. If this security is provided by Capital alone, in unorganized industries, the worker pays dearly for it with his pride and personal liberty as he must always be thankful to the master for giving him "something for nothing."

In order to gain these uncertain benefits, the worker is compelled to renounce his rights to belong to the labor movement, in preference to a company union. He must promise never to strike against his benefactor.

Funds for alleviating this condition, therefore, will require state and national legislation. The labor movement should have a program to this end and make a strenuous effort to get legislation through and should share in the control of its administration.

Even if the present situation should be relieved to some extent by the coming of spring and summer with the natural increase in building work and farming we should not minimize its grave importance. The labor movement should not rest but should keep the problem before the workers and public until a serious effort is made to solve it. This is imperatively necessary. We certainly do not expect Capital to admit that there is such a volume of technological unemployment, incapable of absorption by new industries and caused by the greater productivity and efficiency of the worker.

If only the labor movement realized what a great social force it is! Progressive men and women, in every walk of life, look to it as the greatest single force in our modern society which can solve the many evils that industrialism brings with it.

Degrading Speed-Up



New York Times

The ideal of efficiency in industry, once explained F. W. Taylor, the father of Taylorism, "Is to simplify the work to such a degree that it can be done by a trained gorilla." To accomplish this "noble" aim workers are being stop-watched, spied upon and made the subjects of psychological experiments. At the same time, they are being driven faster and faster in the name of rationalization. A pox upon such efficiency.

An Old Sea-Man

“Andy” Furuseth—Injunction Fighter

By M. H. HEDGES

CRITICS of Joseph Conrad's work find in it a deep unconscious quality. It is as if long contact with the sea had struck into use in him faculties not accorded to land animals. A mystic contact with the Sea-mother, gave Conrad mastery over ranges of human experience—inner experience—permitted to no one else.

On another field, but in no less degree, I find the same deep unconscious quality in Andrew Furuseth. Furuseth has been President of the International Seamen's Union for 22 years. He is 73 years old; though he has not trod decks for nearly a generation, he has never lost the look of the sailor. Tall, gaunt, his face a network of tiny wrinkles, his eyes deep and glowing, his voice flexible and moving, his mood, the mood of youth, he commands respect wherever he goes. Even sophisticated newspapermen at the recent hearing on the Shipstead bill, drawn to bar injunctions in labor disputes, gave Andy more than casual attention; and I thought that James Emery, urbane counsel for the National Manufacturers' Association, opponent of the Shipstead measure, glanced at Furuseth in mystified admiration. For Furuseth has the power of making men believe that he believes.

This sea quality in this labor leader does not eventuate in poetry but in an acute, closely-reasoned philosophy of freedom. Newspapers speak of Furuseth, as labor's greatest authority on human rights. He is that, but he is more than that. He is one of America's greatest authorities on human freedom. In a national hour, when America's traditions and ideals, are tarnished and sullied, Furuseth's impassionate utterances, even in the Capitol of the United States, fall upon the ear with a sullen alien note.

“Gentlemen,” he began, “we bring before you a struggle as old as civilization;—the struggle between freedom and slavery has no beginning and it looks like now in the United States, it has no end.” Then before Senator Walsh of Montana, the Senate's great constitutional lawyer, Senator Blaine of Wisconsin, who as Attorney General of that State, made a record as an able lawyer, and Senator Norris of Nebraska, a lawyer in his own right, the old sea man sketched—in, behind the legal technicalities involved, his vision of the social struggle. As to Conrad, so to Furuseth, it is the antiquity of this planet that fixes the attention—the ageless struggle, the tragic struggle of man. But as Conrad saw pigmy man arrayed mostly against the titanic forces

of marine nature, Furuseth sees men—the spirit of man—locked in a deadly, ever losing struggle, with things—which he rounds in the single term, property. “The bleaching bones of millions of men, who died for freedom whiten the way of man's journey from the beginning to the present,” he told the Senate Judiciary Committee. “When the Nazarene came into the Mediterranean basin, 90 per cent were slaves, 10 per cent were masters. He taught brotherhood, and his teaching by slow corrosive effect, ate away the Roman System. But it took 1500 years; and as soon as the idea of men's equality was won on the religious field, it began to invade the political, and moves in ever-widening circles, until today it has reached the industrial field.”

Briefly he sketches the history of the growing use of the injunction in industrial disputes. Three hundred court writs were issued in the Shopmen's strike of 1922 alone. Six hundred in 1927. It is because the courts have extended the idea of property far beyond the meaning given it, when injunctions were originally used that any basis at all for injunctions against labor can be established, he declares. He read Blackstone, Austin, the American and English Encyclopedia of law to prove that property was with these authorities a tangible and transferable entity. But by court interpretation, it has been made to include “speculative expectancy”, and by subtle blanketing—reach, allowed to mean goodwill, public patronage, and sundry other misuses. “The whole labor movement has come to believe that there is a systematic effort to nullify the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution through injunctions,” he asserts. “In this wise, labor is placed in the class with the sudra of India. The man who toils must work for the higher classes, whenever he is called upon.” Equity, he continues, is purely personal government, and if it is allowed to run on unchecked, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, will become values dependent purely upon property.

As he concluded, and sat down, Senator Norris turned to a reporter and said, “A noble old man.” Everyone believes that about Andrew Furuseth. But he is more than that, he is an individual, with peculiar flavor. There is something as unique, as eerie about Andy Furuseth as about the other master of the sea, Joseph Conrad.

His is a tone, a color, a personal value that every American might well wish could be retained in American life. Yet if he be honest, the American will see that these qualities are vanishing. The injunction fight will be fought out on other lines. But who can doubt the clarity of Furuseth's vision, or the integrity of his mind?

Company Unionism In Politics

Organized Workers on Election Day

WHAT is the matter with trade union men on Election Day?

The International Engineer, the official organ of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, contains in the April issue a severe editorial indictment of the trade union man on Election Day.

"Any professional politician," laments the International Engineer, "will tell you that the union men do not stick when it comes to voting. Let the strongest Union man announce himself for an office, and there will be a great hurrah and hubbub made of how he is going to carry everything before him, and by how big a majority he will win. That will be the condition early in the game, when it has not ceased to be an eight-hour wonder. Then the opposition gets busy. They will take the worst strike-breaker that they can find, get the necessary money to finance his campaign, leave it around indiscriminately, and you will find that the opposition has won."

This is a sweeping arraignment. But anyone who has watched carefully election returns year after year would hardly question the facts. But how about the cause of this deplorable situation? The International Engineer puts the blame on the individual Union man. "There are too many so-called Union men in the ranks who are in merely for what they can make out of it."

This is over-shooting the mark. The labor movement would be in a sad state indeed if our Unions would be filled with so many disloyal members. While it may be true that the trade union appeal has put too much stress on the purely economic element, or on what can be made out of it, still we all know of the great spirit of self-sacrifice and idealism recorded on almost every page of the history of organized labor.

Union men by and large are not so bad at all. Perhaps the real cause of the trouble lies not in the individual Union man but in the political policy of the trade unionist. Union men stick to their Union because there is a Union to stick to. Not so on Election Day. For some reason or other Union men are deprived of their Union on Election Day. There may be here and there a trade union candidate. But there is no trade union party. Now people will stick to an Organization. They cannot be expected to stick equally well to an individual.

Personal loyalty may extend at best to a small circle. It cannot be made to influence great masses. After all what guarantee is there that the trade union candidate running on the ticket of either the

Democratic or Republican Parties will act differently when elected, than the rest of his colleagues running on the same ticket.

Here is a recent case. President Murphy of the New Haven Trades Council was elected alderman on the Democratic ticket. That did not stop him from signing a report against municipal control of the water works and then voting in favor of keeping the water works in the hands of a private corporation. He did so in contradiction to a unanimous decision of the New Haven Trades Council. Such examples might be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

The unreliability of trade union candidates is not a question of personal honesty. It goes back to the same original source. Just as Union men have no union to support on Election Day because the Unions have no party of their own, so the elected trade union candidate has no labor party to fall back upon. In order to accomplish anything while in office he must depend entirely upon his political party. Then, again, to continue and advance in politics he must maintain the favor of his party. When the interest of his party and unionism clash the trade union candidate will in ninety cases out of one hundred throw in his lot with his party rather than with his Union.

Is it not likely that this situation rather than the shortcomings of Union men explains their cynicism on Election Day? Having no party of his own, knowing from bitter experience how little reliance may be put on the so-called trade union candidates, compelled to choose between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee of the Republican and Democratic Parties both equally hostile to labor, the Union man will stoop to vote for what can be made out of it. Might it not be that this is the real explanation why, as the International Engineer complains "we let the politicians vote us and sell us out at so much per."

Not much can be built on personal loyalty. Loyalty to a movement on the other hand is the pillar of all social life and progress. The present political policy of labor, to try to find and reward "friends" within the parties who represent employing interests, is a kind of company unionism in politics. It can hardly be expected to secure greater loyalty from the workers than the company union. It develops the same cynical attitude.

Why not give the Union man a Trade Union party? Why not build the political fortunes of labor on the loyalty of Union men to organized labor as a whole rather than to a single individual candidate? Why not a Labor Party?

J. M. B.

We Are Acquitted

And Other Echoes from Kenosha's Battle Front

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

HISTORY was made in the little, band-box court room of the Federal Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, on that Tuesday morning.

For the first time in American labor history, the 26 defendants (or respondents, as they are legally termed) had had a trial by jury. For five days the court room had resounded with the accusations hurled at them by the strikebreakers of the Allen A Company. For little over a day their own witnesses had been on the stand.

“Conspiracy” to violate the Federal injunction had been the crime laid at their door. The jury had gone out the night before, after listening to the arguments of the lawyers for each side. They came in, in the morning, with a sealed verdict in the case. The entire room held its breath as the clerk read out the verdict. It was: NOT GUILTY.

Sympathizers had done this job, the crowds were so large; picketing of the plant by University of Wisconsin students, in protest against the injunction, and also by children, 600 strong; a funeral procession around the mill, with an improvised coffin, on which was marked “Liberty—Killed by Injunction.” To this was added the account of outside professional strikebreakers, kept prisoners in a boarding house for two days by a crowd, alleged to have thrown hundreds of dozens of eggs at the place.

The particular villain in this piece, as pictured by the company's learned lawyers, was none other than the author of this article. Editorials written by your humble servant months before the Kenosha trouble were read into the record, to show the attitude of the said chief conspirator toward the courts. He was asked if these were still his views, and he replied that they were. Neverthe-

STRIKING KENOSHA HOSIERY WORKERS



Budenz addressing part of workers in front of meeting hall.

There was no demonstration. Quietly, the respondents walked out of the court room, to receive the congratulations of their friends in the corridors. They all felt that it was a solemn occasion, even though it was a time of solemn rejoicing. The ancient rights, wrested from the workers, had come back home at last. After long and ceaseless struggles, the trial by jury—guaranteed by the Constitution—was theirs. And in the first test, it had found them NOT GUILTY of contempt.

They felt, instinctively, that that long line of martyrs who had gone to jail for alleged contempt were rejoicing with them. Out of the battle of Kenosha had come another victory.

The Workers' “Crimes”

During the course of the trial, they had been accused of almost every crime under the sun, short of murder. The strikebreakers' fervid indictment included: Some 25 alleged assaults, mostly of a petty character; picketing of the plant on various occasions, although there was some doubt as to whether the lockedout workers or

less, he explained that such views could not be applied to Kenosha, as he represented the union there, through the LABOR ACE SERVICE BUREAU, in the same capacity as a lawyer to his client. For over five hours he remained on the stand, largely under cross-examination as to his attitude toward the courts.

The Defense Rests

He was followed on the stand by H. E. Steele, vice-president of the union. And then, to the surprise of all present, the defense rested. The 24 other defendants and the 34 additional witnesses present for the defense were not called upon to testify. Ex-Judge Joseph A. Padway, as counsel for the defendants, had sprung a legal coup, and all were interested to see what would come of it. The betting, among the Big Boys in Milwaukee and Kenosha, was 2 to 1 that the respondents would be convicted.

But the Big Boys had not sat in the court room, as had the jury, and listened to the contradictory testimony of the company's witnesses. They had not heard the



University of Wisconsin students picketing the Allen A. plant at Kenosha in protest against the injunction.

admissions of this strikebreaker and that strikebreaker that each carried blackjacks and guns and other dangerous weapons. They had not viewed the orderly demeanor of the 26 defendants—native Americans all, if that means anything—as they sat day after day in the court room. The jury had heard and seen these things—and their verdict was conclusive.

The whole effort of the company, as evidenced by their tactics was to put the leadership of the workers in jail. That would necessarily have many disadvantages. It would halt the flow of publicity which has put the Allen A Babbitts at their wits' ends. The battle of Kenosha, with 330 workers involved, has secured more publicity than any labor dispute in the history of the Northwest. So say a number of active Labor men, among them Leo Krzycki, former under-sheriff of Milwaukee County and General Organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Henry Ohl, President of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. It has been on the front page of the Milwaukee papers every day, almost, of the 12 weeks of lockout.

That Annoying Publicity

When it seems in danger of falling into the back of the papers, Bang! it goes to the front with a vengeance. One day it is the workers' campaign to abolish the City Manager Form of Government—after the unwarranted arrest of 45 workers—which makes all the local higher-ups think seriously and decide to go slow with the police. Then, it is the appeal to the Attorney General of the State against the armed strikebreakers in the mill. A bit later, it is the parade of 2,500 trade unionists of the city in the face of a stiff blizzard—marching on foot, with banners expressing their sentiments. Sometimes, the publicity comes inadvertently, as with the arrest of those 45—alleged to have been on the picket line. That filled the Kenosha jail for the first time in local history. They rocked the patrol-wagon from side to side, as they gave their union songs and yells, on the way to imprisonment.

It is this publicity, plus the action which has gone

with it, that had driven the slow-thinking management to desperation. The locked-out workers have issued a weekly four-page paper, the *KENOSHA HOSIERY WORKER*, which goes to each house in the city and keeps the citizenship informed. It exposed the plans and plots of "Yellow Dog" MacDonald, who is busily engaged in furnishing professional strikebreakers at from \$110 to \$150 per week. It took up, step by step, the various acts and plans of the company, and brought them out into the light of day. That also MUST be stopped, thought the officials of the Allen A. The only thing to do was to attempt to jail the leaders, responsible for this publicity. Alleged violation of the injunction was the happy weapon which they fell back upon, to accomplish this end. It was a weapon that failed.

Fire Spreads

While these things went forward, the general labor movement of Wisconsin catches some fire. The Kenosha central labor body finds itself quickened with a new life. It marches behind banners, which declare that "The Injunction Violates American Liberties." Other cities slowly awaken to the challenge. All across the state, Labor stirs at the courage of its comrades. Even the oppressed workers of the Nash Automobile Company jeer the strikebreakers as they pass. The Nashites form long lines through which the "scabs" have to run a gauntlet of yells and catcalls. So bad does this become that the Allen A now lets the outcasts out an hour ahead of time, to avoid the other workers of the city. The thing is in danger of spreading.

The Allen A Company gets the fight of its life. It is a fight it little reckoned on. Mr. Robert W. Allen, absentee owner who never comes near the plant normally, gives up his leisurely yachting trip and hastens back to see what it is all about. In 8 weeks of lockout, he has lost \$1,700,000—he and his associates. The union is responsible, of course, for the attack upon the workers. The union, of course, urged the company to throw away its money on bonuses for thugs.

The particular bad boy, as a matter of fact, happens

Portion of defendants in contempt case, including Vice President Harold E. Steele and Editor Louis F. Budenz.



to be a Mr. Chester Swindell. He is a raised-up knitter, posing as an efficiency expert. German workers cannot pronounce his name with the right accent, but always call him "Mr. Swindle". We will not pause to pass upon the merits of such an appellation, but will merely state that he tries to hide the fact that he once worked in the mills and that he once struck for the right to organize, himself. That happened in the Nolte and Horst strike in Reading, in 1914. He further attempts to palm off his father as being a superintendent in the East, whereas the said father is an humble knitter in a 100 per cent union shop in Brooklyn. Of such stuff is the "gentleman", Chester, made.

Chester, with the aid of the high pressure salesmen of the Textile Machine Workers, "sold" the anti-union and 2-machine idea to the rather dense-minded management of the Allen A. Out of that came trouble.

Ironically enough, my mission in going to Kenosha was to "avert trouble." That is what the union asked me to do. I had just begun the task of "averting" when the lockout came. Thereupon, I used my God-given right to help the workers win. For such offence, I found myself in danger of the judgment.

The Honor Roll

Those who went to trial with Steele and myself and thus got their names on the Honor Roll of victims of the Injunction were:

Andrew Reiss, Rudolph Johnson, Stanton Swank, Carl Haubrich, Russell Pfanmiller, Herbert Casey, William Fanning, Monroe Collingsgru, Joseph Vareck, Clyde Roemer, Francis Schilax, Vernon Schulte, Lawrence Schilling, Charles Kocher, Norman Stensen, Charles Kahler, Thomas Glowacki, Edward Klopstein, Matt Kluka, Thomas Casey, Otto Haubrich, Ivo Herber, Earl Zeich and Francis Swift.

How haphazardly this list was chosen may be judged from the fact that two of the most active union workers—Erich Tillman and Maceo Kueny—are omitted from the list. And so with other outstanding union men.

"Aggressive Non-Resistance"

One term that loomed up large in the trial—because counsel for the company made it so—was "aggressive non-resistance". That term, used over and over again in

the pages of *LABOR ACE*, was read and re-read, with a view to showing that Budenz was an enemy of our American institutions. The peroration of chief counsel for the company closed with a eulogy of Chief Justice Taft as the bulwark of said institutions. The pronouncements of the A. F. of L. on that subject could not get into the record, nor the words of Thomas Jefferson on which most of my own unoriginal remarks were based. Had Jefferson been alive and in Wisconsin, he would have been sitting with me on the prisoners' bench—with the finger of condemnation pointed at him. There was great consolation in that thought and much of exultation.

There was further exultation in the thought that—true to the story of all historic fights for liberty—the ammunition for this attack on me had been furnished by none other than the labor spy, MacDonald. Running out of the State to escape the law, he plies his rotten trade from a distance. An ardent reader of these pages, his stupid mind can only function in one direction. He "sold" his great idea for good hard cash to the company and their attorneys—the idea that men who stand up for Justice and Decency in industrial relations are enemies of Society. How little of History do any of these gentlemen know! For the scene in the Wisconsin court-room in this year 1928 was merely a small repetition of scenes that have come down through the record of Man's progress. William Penn was there and the American Revolutionists and the Abolitionists. And the slinking figures of a thousand Judases who have sought to betray men of freedom to the Powers that Be, were hidden in the draperies.

It would be incorrect to over-estimate the Kenosha victory in itself. The injunction still stands. The company has announced that it will prosecute individual alleged violations, now that "conspiracy" has fallen to the ground. But a great blow has been struck for the workers' freedom, even with all that. It will hearten unionists everywhere—or it should—to gird on new armor for renewed battles ending in new victories. Historically, it is an outstanding milestone in the workers' march onward.

It is a promise of the day when the Injunction in labor disputes will be buried, as a memorial of things that were, among the mummies and the dinosaurs.

The Mind of the Routine Worker

How Repetitive Jobs Affect Him

By HERMAN FRANK, Ph. D.

THE greater part of the workers in industry are routine workers doing repetitive work. This is a highly important fact for social psychology, for repetitional processes tend to the formation of habits which even everyday wisdom recognizes as second nature. Modern workers, being in close contact with machines, are in danger to become mechanized.

So-called Industrial Psychology has done a great deal of research work concerning the mental requirements demanded by various factory occupations. It has also studied the effects of automatic machinery on the minds and nerves of the workers. But unfortunately for the student of human behavior, Industrial Psychology seems to avoid general conclusions as to the mental outlook resulting from routine in industrial jobs.

Light and Shade in Repetitive Work

Repetitional work is from one point of view an advantage, for speed and exactness result from repetitive processes. Besides, there is less waste of energy in effortless routine than in strenuous adaptation of new and changeable behavior on the part of the worker who often takes up fresh tasks. Further, it has been observed that the mind which is partly employed in routine is often fresher at other times for imaginative life and inventive effort.

On the other hand, the psychological type of the industrial worker tends to be (1) mentally poorly developed and (2) de-individualized. The majority of workers tend to be as similar as the standardized units which they produce. In the second place, factory jobs usually leave neither time nor scope for individuality.

The characteristic mental outlook, called the psychological "set", of the worker is canalized, regularized, and as a result of this circumstance, appears so largely similar in different persons. Miners, for instance, are much more like one another than men of the same craft in the Middle Ages were. Again, it has been truly said that for the modern worker every day is very like every other day.

But the modern technique, based as it is upon automatic machinery and job specialization, produces momentous results, from the point of view of industrial administration. For two generations, American industry, it has been remarked by a keen observer, has adapted jobs to men rather than men to jobs. Instead of training men to exercise judgment, initiative, and thought and to assume responsibility, managers have striven to make, or to regard, all jobs so simple that these qualities are little needed. This is a matter for regret. A thorough-going analysis of our production system will disclose both the role of the routine work in shops and factories and the fallacy of undervaluating the workers' intelligence and reliability.

Repetitive Character of Factory Tasks

Most descriptions of the mental effects of modern technique upon the workers treat the machine as its dominant characteristic. This is only partly true. Important as machinery is, it probably affects workmen no more than do the repetitive character of jobs or specialization. As a rule, the machine sets the pace which workers must maintain. But though true of looms and, most certainly, of conveyor systems, it is not true of most machines. Think of machines that are "fed" by hand. It is the repetitive character of modern industrial tasks and specialization that virtually control the speed of work even more than does machinery.

Only when an operation is repetitive, irrespective of its being done by machinery or by hand, does it pay to ascertain by means of a stop-watch how long it should take. More than this, only when work is repetitive can the management by careful time studies compare the output of a man on different days or of several men over a given period and base the standard performance upon the best.

As to the subdivision of labor, or specialization, it helps the management to control the rate of work by facilitating the use of the so-called pace setters. When the tasks are subdivided in orderly sequence it is feasible to station the most efficient men at initial operations so that they should act as pace setters. This means that the other men handle the material as rapidly as it comes to them. Thus the fast workers urge their fellow workers to speed up. A most effective pressure indeed.

The following illustration from the history of the familiar garment trade will make the abstract reasoning concrete and plain. Some fifty years ago immigrants from Russia began to enter this trade in large numbers, bringing with them a new division of labor, the "team" system with its accompanying "task". The "team" was made up of three skilled workers—a machine operator, a baster, and a finisher. Other workers were pressers, buttonhole makers and button-sewers. A certain number of coats were given out as a "task" for the week. Each person performed his own particular operation as many times as there were coats. This constant repetition meant that the workers quickly attained a high rate of speed, with the result that more work was done in less time. Out of this innovation grew the sordid sweating system.

But see what happened later on. New and improved machinery led to further subdivision and simplification of various processes for the purpose of utilizing relatively unskilled labor. In the 1890's a modification of the team system was introduced by which the work was apportioned so that the first and second (in regard to speed) machine operators, first and second baster, and so on, should keep pace with each other. Still later the different kinds of workers were grouped, the whole body

SUCCESSFUL LABOR COLLEGES

How to Start Them

GIVE me ten men belonging to ten different local unions and the support of the Central Labor Union, and I am confident that I can start a Labor College in any town in the state, make it successful and it will be something the labor movement will be proud of," writes Leonard Craig, Director of Workers Education, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

This is both a challenge and a promise. A challenge to alert labor men and women throughout the Keystone state to form classes for the purpose of studying Labor's manifold problems. And, a promise which we are sure will be fulfilled by Brother Craig, for he has established three successful labor colleges thus far, in Pittsburgh, Shenan-

doah and Wilkes Barre. More than 150 students have enrolled and more are expected to do so.

What has been achieved in these cities can be duplicated in every locality where there is a group of men and women, no matter how small in number, who believe in Workers Education and who have confidence in their own abilities.

More than ever is there need for light and inspiration through Workers Education. It is a movement which should receive enthusiastic and wholehearted support. Some no doubt are dreaming about and hoping for a Labor College that would be a credit to their city. The Workers Education Department of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor is ready to assist in realizing such hopes.

or section of finishers setting the pace for the whole body of operators, and so forth, through all the different grades of work.

As can be seen, all factory work that aims at mass production is essentially repetitive work and can result in overspeeding, whether it is being done by machinery or by hand.

Intelligence and Efficiency

Machinery, however, is usually held responsible for killing the skill, judgment, initiative, and responsibility in modern workers. But repetitional work and specialization do this also. The more completely work consists in doing one thing over and over, the less need do workers have for judgment, initiative, and resourcefulness. Similar are the results of specialization. By causing the most difficult operations to be concentrated in the hands of a few experts, specialization helps to convert the task of the ordinary hand into a simple routine.

But the impression of the extent to which industrial tasks have been reduced to a simple routine and the need for thought, initiative, and ingenuity dispensed with has been grossly exaggerated, particularly among the employers. Too long have managers underestimated the importance of the worker's good will, and until recently they have made little effort to get it. Such qualities as intelligence and reliability have been undervaluated in the labor market. And this despite the fact that, as has been shown by all the successful suggestion systems, nine-tenths of the suggestions come from factory workers.

Usually we little suspect what an astonishing number of valuable suggestions wage earners are capable of making. A manufacturer of rubber goods, for example, found that the annual saving from the suggestions received from employees and adopted during 1922 was

\$56,000; during 1923, \$84,000; and during the first quarter of 1924, \$63,000.*

The tendency of managers to underestimate the demands made by modern industrial work frequently causes them to hire less competent men than would be most profitable. Not a few manufacturing enterprises in recent times, upon investigating the requirements of their jobs, found that in several departments they had been using too low a grade of labor.

The most significant change in managerial policies for the past decade is that administrators are rapidly recognizing the importance of ascertaining the efficiency of labor. Since man-power is not so cheap as it was, the practice of adapting men to jobs, of prizes judgment and initiative on the part of the worker, is slowly coming into being. But in most cases it is impossible to ascertain individual efficiency. Therefore, it has recently been proposed by thoughtful economists and social psychologists, both in Europe and America, to keep track of the efficiency of a group of workers, say of an entire department. This would lead to more extensive use of group bonus and group piecework plans.

Of course, as a prerequisite to successful operation of such plans, piece rates should not be cut, as so frequently happens wherever managers resort to the damnable driving device. Driving, that is—inducing workers to do more or better work not by rewards but by cutting piece rates or by threats of discharge, is undoubtedly the main obstacle on the road of interesting workmen in increased output or, for that matter, in reduced cost.

*Prof. S. H. Slichter, "American Economic Review", Vol. 15, No. 1, March, 1925; Supplement, p. 97.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

(Continuing the course in Research for Active Trade Unionists)

2. The Guide: The Library Catalog

WE are all familiar with the catalog of mail order houses and similar establishments. The library catalog is based upon the same principle as the commercial product. All the wares are listed in alphabetical order—in our case, books—and where a commodity may be put under two or more headings, this is done. We cannot expect to be taken on a tour of the mail order house or even receive for a coupon miniature samples of the articles for sale. Instead we use our imagination and judgment, send in an order on a neat form conveniently provided—like the library call slips—and presto! before we have saved up the money to pay the bill, the mail or express man is at the door with our purchase. That is just what is done in a library except that the service is much faster.

In Europe and in some cases in this country library catalogs are, like their kin in the mail order house, big cumbersome volumes. In the United States, however, as a general rule library catalogs are on a card basis. For each book that comes into the library several cards are made out. These are all filed alphabetically, one or more according to the author or authors, one or more according to the title or sometimes sub-titles, and one or more according to the subject or subjects treated.

Libraries may vary in their card systems but we are fortunate that the Library of Congress supplies the standard cards. From these little departure is made. Under the United States law two copies of every copyrighted book must be deposited with the Library of Congress. Thus the Federal Government by adding rare, foreign and uncopied works has been able to build up one of the largest libraries in the world at a comparatively low cost.

Let us take for illustration the card shown on this page, as it appears in the catalog of the New York Public Library, though somewhat simplified here for our purpose. With minor variations the explanations here given hold good for all libraries, even, when the library prints or typewrites its own cards. In the right hand corner are the letters "TDR". That is the class mark, indicating with what group of books the volume under consideration is filed on the shelves. That little device of the class mark has made for efficiency in the American library system. It enables a book to be located in a jiffy. In some of the large European libraries, you must let the librarian know two or three days in advance what volume you desire. In the United States if you have to wait fifteen minutes, you begin to worry whether something dreadful has not happened. Of course, libraries have different systems of classification. They only concern you, when the library in which you

work permits readers to help themselves, in the manner of some cafeterias. Then, by locating one book on the open shelves you find yourself in the midst of all the volumes with the same class mark and in this way are enabled to select other books dealing with the subject of your interest.

The card, you will observe, contains the name of the author, the title, the writer of the introduction, the place of publication, the publishing house, and the date of publication or copyright. After that we learn that there are in the book xvi or 16 pages devoted presumably to the preface and introduction, and 206 pages of text. With this information we can judge before we see the book whether it is merely a pamphlet of twenty pages, a ponderous volume of a thousand or a comfortable two hundred and six. (Advertising department, LABOR AGE, take note!) You may not care to consult the volume, if it is too brief or too elaborate. Sometimes when time is pressing, this is an important consideration.

At the bottom of the card are headings other than the author's name under which you may find Dunn's "Company Unions". These are alphabetically arranged in the card catalog. One is "Employees' representation in management", another is "Trade unions—U. S." and a third is the title, "Company unions". Many research workers never look at these items. That is a grave mistake for valuable opportunities are thus overlooked. By employing the subjects as a clue you may discover other books dealing with the same or related themes.

For Your Research

1. What are the titles, dates of publication and size of other books written by Robert W. Dunn or in which he has collaborated?
2. If your library supplies subject headings at the bottom of the catalog cards, find other books dealing with similar topics.
3. What books are there in your library under the heading, "Trade unions—U. S."?
4. Remember that every librarian is happy to respond to your requests for information but if you have any questions to ask of us or comments to make, write to Research Department, Labor Age, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

TDR.

Dunn, Robert Williams, 1895.

Company unions, employers' "industrial democracy", by Robert W. Dunn . . . with an introduction by Louis F. Budenz. New York, Vanguard Press, 1927.

Xvi, 206 p.

1. Employees' representation in management. 2. Trade unions U. S. I. Title.

Library of Congress.

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Specimen Library Card, Simplified

Flashes from the Labor World

27,000 New Bedford Textile Workers Call Halt to Wage Cut Wave

New England's wage-cutting wave, rolling down from non-union Amoskeag in Manchester, N. H., broke when it hit the union breakwater at New Bedford, Mass. Thinking workers from Portland, Me., to Portland, Ore., rejoiced when weavers deserted looms and spinner girls forgot the maddening roar of dancing frames in their fight against the 10 per cent reduction ordered by William M. Butler's *Sherman Detective Service*-aided Textile Manufacturers Assn.

27,000 men and women, boys and girls, trooped to the mill gates in the streaming spring sunshine of an early morning on April 16. While girls sang and clapped, men jigged in front of the gates as they swung open to receive the mill's human fodder. An hour later the gates slammed shut again, with nary a worker within the mills.

New Bedford is a one-industry town and mill workers are THE people. Therefore newspaper editors failed to unleash their bitter fury on hapless workers; preachers condemned the rotten textile industry, and not the strikers; grocers swore not at penniless workers but at sullen, autocratic mill bosses; Rotary, knowing who buttered its bread, spoke smoothly of conferences and "both sides to blame", instead of just one side. The dependent classes, which in most American communities are entrusted with running the town, in New Bedford looked pretty pitiful when their means of livelihood, the mill workers, quit shuttle and bobbin.

* * *

Down the Boulevard of The Allies in Pittsburgh a dejected, shambling group of creatures which once were men follow employment touts to the station to board trains for the western Pennsylvania mining camps, writes Ed Falkowski, Federated Press correspondent. A steady stream of these poor beings flows into the mines, breaking the heroic miners' strike and adding another prime problem to labor's slate.

The strike, now 13 months old, and already a classic in American labor history, proves the courage of every union miner, his wife and children.

Now small pox and other plagues add to the terrors of ever-lurking tuberculosis in the little barrack towns clinging to muddy hillsides or laid over bottom land swamps. Bitter cold has left but mud and water and poor sanitation add fresh menaces to the families clustering to single rooms.

New England, before summer comes, may be the scene of a great textile struggle for bread and life, but right now the mining camps of western Pennsylvania call for organized labor's every relief effort. Every union man who can give his own kids a square meal tonight should think of the little union kids who face bare supper tables night after night. The penalty for carelessness is the decline of America's greatest union to a mere shadow of its former self. Wake up, workers!

* * *

Rationalization they call it across the sea, but for American workers it's just plain speedup—whether of men or machines. Paterson and Passaic weavers must now handle four and even six looms; Ford's coal miners are mere factory workers; bakers just tend mixing and baking machinery. And right there is where the reader of this page should use his influence to humanize the machine. The bread trust, whether Ward on Continental or whatever the local disguise, has been warring on the sturdy, hard-fighting Bakers Union for lo! these many years.

But bakers die too hard, even for the bread trust. The union is active and fighting hard in every town—your town too, but are you insisting on the union label? Or are you eating that unhealthy, soggy white stuff, misnamed bread, which the trust is foisting on us by the labor of non-union baking machine tenders? For shame! Both your conscience and your stomach will feel better if you eat union bread.

* * *

Unemployment insurance is established on a firm basis in America at last. Sidney Hillman tells us. Fresh from arduous negotiations in Chicago and Rochester which brought new contracts for the Amalgamated

Clothing Workers, Hillman is naturally jubilant over the Chicago job fund, to which manufacturers must now pay 3 per cent of their payroll, instead of 1½ per cent. Workers pay in 1½ per cent. Since established in 1923, the fund has paid out \$3,300,000 to unemployed unionists in a highly seasonal industry. Rochester has just adopted the fund and New York bosses will be asked to include it in the new contract.

* * *

Every day and in every way the American Federation of Teachers is becoming better and better known. And all because it answered an emphatic Yes when the question arose in school circles whether teachers are human. "Blue laws restrict freedom of teachers in ridiculous and often tyrannical ways," says Secretary Florence Hanson. In Oak Park, Chicago, teachers must be in bed by 10 p. m. In a West Virginia town the women teachers are not allowed to wear galoshes flopping open. Neither men nor women teachers may smoke in Kansas City. Tin tyrants of the schools get the surprise of their lives when the Teachers Union steps in and tells them teachers are just as human as the rest of us, and have just as much right to bob their hair as the next one.

* * *

British Columbia's minimum wage covers men, too. And why not? Wages of cooks, waiters and dishwashers have just been boosted 50 per cent. Here in the land of the free, cooks are "free" to work for \$18 a week, because there's too many of 'em. They are also "free" to refuse to work for \$18, and consequently quite "free" to starve. Wonderful Supreme Court we have, that allows minimum wage laws for neither men nor women. Small wonder the Tories are so anxious to deify the All-Highest Justices and command little children in the schools to bow in obeisance before the ex-corporation attorney graybeards.

This department was prepared by Harvey O'Connor, New York representative of the Federated Press.

World Champions



In epitomizing important current international news cartoonists of Paris, Berlin and Moscow drive home the absurdity of the Kellogg-Briand peace debate, the British pretensions toward liberty and the rights of small nations as regards Egypt and the "Hands across the sea" piffle of apologists for American and British Imperialism.

Kellogg and Briand are pictured by "Nob" in *Le Petit Bleu*, as fighting for the world's championship—it is a battle to decide whose peace plan will win the world's applause.

There is no love lost between Russia and England and the Russian cartoonist enjoys showing England in her usual position in dealing with small nations. During the world war the Land of the Pharaohs was assured that her independence would be respected by Britain for assisting in the war for democracy. But when Cairo tried to pass a law recognizing free speech and free assembly, Chamberlain threatened the Egyptians with free grape-shot and free poison gas.

The third cartoon (in the *Kladderadatsch*) finds Uncle Sam in the position Germany was in 1912-13. No wonder the Berlin editors are laughing. They understand the game.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

LET US GO TO THE WORKERS

Shaking Off the Mass Production Blues in a New Crusade

NOW that the Daughters of the American Revolution have brayed forth a blacklist of distinguished men and women, it might be in order for all those on this list to wither up and die. We are inclined to believe that they will not do so. We are tempted to venture the suggestion that they will go on fighting, as the ancestors of the said Daughters did a number of years back.

Because Asininity sits in high places, we need not all bow down before the Golden Jackass. Because Rotarian fools and Kiwanian professional glad-boys get a beef-steak every day and put their little brother in the White House, we need not all turn business men in outlook.

The disappointed business man in the guise of a unionist is the curse of the movement. The wailer and weeper over the past glories of Zion is inclined to get on one's nerves rather than accomplish anything concrete for our cause.

We believe that the Movement has too many disappointed business men and too many weepers over the past in our ranks. We rejoice, therefore, at Brother Muste's clear-cut, cleansing thoughts in the last issue of *LABOR AGE*. He maps out roughly a new crusade, in the name of Workers Education. He wants a movement of active agitators, back to the workers.

This is to be done through Extension Courses out through the country, in unorganized centers and among unorganized groups.

There we have the germ of a vital effort. It is the thing we have been urging in a general way for some time past. Let us throw off our slothfulness of spirit and get out into the trenches. Let us cease to debate about vague and vagarious ultimates and devote ourselves to the concrete task at hand.

Of course, there will be obstacles. There are plenty of them. We live in the America of mass production, Calvin Coolidge and literate ignorance. Need that disturb us? Not at all. It makes the adventure merely the more interesting. The mass production worker is restless. He is devoting himself in a feverish terror to prohibition booze, wild parties and general confusion of thought. He feels revolt in his system, but knows not how to express it. Fear of the sudden changes which mass production brings has made him a morbid fatalist, trying to forget his insecurity.

A clear, healthy call to him—confident of its purpose—cannot but be heard. Workers education attempts which go to him will bear fruit. They will dot the country with little societies of revolting souls who will form the bases for mass unionization. These dynamic groups, without the burden of "isms" attached to them but with the determination to free the worker from his present slavery of mind and body, will mold the future Movement of this country.

It will take the enthusiasm of youth to do this thing well. It is essentially an undertaking to which the youth of the Movement should rally. That youth, in its own way, is crying out for action. In every part of the country you hear the demand of the young workers to be put at employment for the advancement of the Movement. They can be no better employed than in this way.

Power is the only thing that will push the workers forward—power, based on intelligent action. If this extension movement be properly organized, it will accumulate a silent power that will make itself felt. Later on, when it is strong enough, it can come out of the catacombs and show itself in mass movements of the unorganized.

The mass production blues should be due for extermination.

LABOR AGE

THE CAPITALIST REVOLUTION

WHILE Freddie Marvin and sundry other professional "viewers with alarm" are throwing remunerative fits over the impending Communist Revolution, we continue to pass through a Revolution which has put the capitalist in control of all things.

It began with the appearance of the Machine. Back in the middle of the 1700's, the coming of that new device spelled the doom of the kings and feudal lords. It has been moving on apace, until now we see it reaching its zenith in Mass Production. The great ideal of the Capitalist System is wages. It presents us with a great dilemma: The more that is produced, the less can the worker consume.

Wall Street has been booming, while breadlines grow. Stock and bond gamblers are reaping fabulous returns, while men who wish to earn their bread by sweat cannot find employment.

Steel Trust dividends for 1927, as just reported, rise 40 per cent. Wage increases for steel workers during the same year come to but 1 per cent. The number of workers employed by the Steel Corporation was decreased by 21,650 during that 12 months—a falling off of about 8½ per cent from 1926.

Since 1923, the railroads have been keying up on the speed-up, likewise. The number employed on these transportation systems has fallen steadily since that year. Between November and December, 1927, 58,723 railroad employees got the ax.

It is futile to hope for any great change in this state of affairs under the Profit System. It runs around and around and around and around. Profits DO cut wages and Machines run for Profits DO throw men out of work.

An immediate program, however, can and should be put forward by the Labor Movement. We can scarcely sit in our rags before the ashes of our lost hope, merely wringing our hands. That settles nothing.

The immediate program that would put some faith and spirit in the workers by way of Hope should include, we submit:

1. **Unemployment insurance**—furnished by the state and supplied by taxation on those who make the great profits.

2. **With each extension of the speed-up, an extension of the shortening of hours rather than man-displacement.** Let the workers, we say, thus share in the fruits of increased production.

3. **A checking of the speed-up in a number of cases.** Often, it has gone beyond all reason. Frequently, it is simply the return of old industrial evils under softer names.

4. **Unionization, as the first step and the chief step that will safeguard the worker and achieve the above objectives, and more beside.**

If we prefer to stutter about and do nothing, of course, we can do that also. It is a rather impotent way of doing things, we submit. It is much preferable to make a hard fight for the things that will bring some assurance to the workers in the midst of intense insecurity. We would like to see more fighting.

SAPP, SAPPIER, SAPPIEST

ASAPP is the appropriate name of the new president of the Rotarians of the World. After all, the Capitalist Revolution has presented us with a Sappy regime. It is fit and proper that the court fools of the Big Bunko Artists should have a Sapp from Indiana at their head.

We think it incumbent on the workers, rather, to exert themselves against a Sappier day. They let the Rotarian brethren and their banking masters set the pace too much, entirely. One outstanding reality that we are experiencing is unemployment in the midst of plenty. The masters of mass production see that this may prove a challenge to their control of things. They set out, then, to get the jump on the workers and the union organizations by deciding to make profits out of unemployment itself!

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company—that soft seat of Scaberry—has now opened shop for the sale of unemployment insurance to Employing Interests. It will be an extension of the group insurance idea, so helpful in producing brain paralysis among the working population. It will compel the workers, through wage cuts, to pay for their own misery.

George Soule, able economist of the Labor Bureau, has warned the New York central body against allowing the insurance vultures to take the lead in this development. Labor should be out on the firing line, forcing through unemployment insurance by state action and also dynamically putting through employer-union agreements on unemployment prevention and insurance. The campaign should not be allowed to lag. If it does and we are found to have been sleeping, the brand of the Sappiest will deservedly be ours.

"PICKETING" IS MASS PICKETING

KENOSHA'S struggle, unique in so many ways, has brought out one outstanding item in our industrial tactics.

It is: the effectiveness of mass picketing.

When we speak of the right to picket hereafter, we must ever insist frankly that it is mass picketing that we have in mind. We must fight for that right against all odds.

Orderly and peaceable as the Kenosha picketing was—and is—it had tremendous effect, because it was done en masse. It brought to the mill gates all the workers involved, and on many occasions a great number of sympathizers. It was the thing around which much of the early publicity of the workers' cause hinged—and this lockout has received more publicity than any other industrial dispute in the history of Wisconsin. Men of wide experience in the Labor Movement, such as General Organizer Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Vice President Kauffman of the Metal Polishers, have come to tell us that.

The mass picket line added much to the enthusiasm of the workers. It gave opportunity for the display of banners bearing the message of the union. It allowed for pictures in the newspapers, in which the words on these banners appeared. It made the strikebreakers un-

comfortable and uncertain and broke down their morale.

It was the picket line which the company feared and sought to crush by the Federal Injunction. That injunction, written by the attorneys for the company, forbids all picketing. It did not forbid "persuasion", and that opened the way for a liberal interpretation of its provisions on the part of union counsel. But interpreted or uninterpreted, it was framed as a strikebreaking measure pure and simple—and the picket line was its objective.

If the Labor Movement of this country ever hopes to kill the Goliath of Oppression which is grinding the workers down today, it must make a fight for mass picketing. And it must be a real fight. The employers will not give back the rights which they have filched from us without an intense battle. Mass picketing is something which they are determined shall not be.

President Patrick Fagan of District 5 of the Miners has discovered these self-evident truths on his own account. He has answered the "No Picketing" edicts of the Pennsylvania judiciary with mass action. He finds himself in jail, as a result—but there are more honest men in jail at this hour than there are outside.

Other unions will come in contact with the same situation, when they have a fight to the finish on their hands. These Old Men of the Mountain—the Federal judges—who are bearing down the worker-Sinbads, can only be cast off, once and for all, when we have established the mass picketing right beyond the shadow of a doubt.

A FRANK QUESTION

WHILE we have it on our chest, we would like to ask a frank question.

It runs something like this: When, in the name of Hell and High Water, are we ever to begin a great crusade of organizing?

Step into any city of the U. S. A. and there lies before us a field ripe for the harvest. When is it to be reaped? When are the great horde of the unorganized to be given the advantages of freedom through organization?

One great mistake that seems apparent is, that we are all waiting for a lucky break. We are still beginning to commence. Many men, grown old in the Movement, see only the possibilities of failure in a given industry. They fear to risk anything on a Great Adventure. They live too much in the memory of past accomplishments—or failures.

That was not the spirit that brought the Labor Movement into being. It was the enthusiasm of Youth that did it. It was the opportunities provided for Youth that worked miracles. It was the determination to go ahead and do the thing to be done, no matter what the cost.

This is not a plea for General Stupidity. It is not a demand for a Headless Horseman, rushing hither and thither astride a Revolution-around-the-corner nightmare. We do believe that every local born labor college, every city central body, and every local union

should be alert at studying the possibilities at organizing which can be turned into probabilities and thence into realities. At the present moment, the job is not half-done.

SCOTCHING YELLOW DOGGERY

OUR opinion of the courts is well known. They are too frequently mere echoes of the voices of Those in Power. The Adamson Law was not declared constitutional because the Sacred Cow at Washington thought it so. It owes its permanent place on the statute books to that court's temporary fear of the railroad unions.

We do not become overheated with excitement, then, when we note that the yellow dog contract has been given two hard blows in the highest court of New York State. Every man with gray matter in his head is fully aware of the injustice of that contract. Justice Wasser-vogel's decision that it is "inequitable" did not make it so. It was inequitable always in the conscience of the working class of this country.

Nevertheless, these decisions did something to scotch Yellow Doggery. The Supreme Court of the land may next be called upon to pass upon the contract. We advise that body to put its ear to the ground. There is an undercurrent of revolt there that will presently grow louder. The New York courts heeded this mumbling underneath. The gang of corporation lawyers sitting in Washington should do so, for the eventual welfare of their masters.

Scotched though it be, Yellow Doggery is not yet dead. We cannot purchase flowers for it until, by defiance and evasion, we have made it ridiculous. Along with that can march the demand for legislation to wipe it out of existence once and for all, by having it made legally null and void. In three states, such legislation was introduced and will eventually be passed. New York and New Jersey also saw similar bills presented in the current legislatures.

But the best way to make such legislation stick is to frighten those senile minds sitting on our benches. An intelligent campaign of ridicule and evasion and defiance, based on "American freedom," is the only path we can travel, to achieve that desired end.

EFFICIENCY

IN a large mill in the Middle West, an efficiency man was unloosed upon the unoffending workers.

Each man in the mill had been attending to one vat. "Ha! Ha!" quoth Mr. Efficiency, spotting a possibility of justifying his fancy salary. "We will make each man work three vats."

Three vats were worked by one man, accordingly. Within three days, one of the workers had died and two were seriously ill in the hospital. They could not keep up the pace of watching the steam valve, and the poisonous vapor escaped, to their serious hurt.

The good news was immediately conveyed to the personnel psalm singers throughout the country and their efficiency brethren, and there was universal rejoicing. For Efficiency had triumphed.

In Other Lands

FOR WORLD WIDE UNITY

Division and Chaos Must Be Dispelled

EIGHTY years ago ardent souls throughout the world were cheered by a stirring slogan: "Workers of the World, Unite!"

Again, in this year 1928, has the same standard been raised, in a moving appeal to the working class organizations of every land.

Toward the latter part of last year a meeting was held in Paris between representatives of independent and advanced Socialist groups, to bring about unity in the labor ranks—instead of the present "division and chaos."

The Norwegian Labor Party sent representatives to that conference. So also the Maximalist Party of Italy, the Polish Bund and the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. Out of that meeting the appeal for world unity in the labor industrial and political ranks, lately sent out to the labor organizations and the labor press of all countries.

The manifesto opens with the following warning:

"It is time that Socialists of all countries gave serious attention to the deplorable conditions of the organization of our International movement.

"To meet the internationalization of capital, the menace of Reaction and Fascism, the political and economic exploitation of Imperialism, and the danger of war, it is imperative that the working class movement throughout the world should be united."

Then it goes on to point out the disastrous division within the workers' movements. "The Interna-

tional Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International remain almost exclusively European bodies," it says. "The industrial and political working class organizations of America, Africa, Asia and Australia are, for the most part, unaffiliated. On the other hand, the Third International and the Red Trade Union International, whilst having wider contacts, represent, except in the Russian Soviet States, dissentiently minority movements, reflecting still further divisions."

It calls out for the voices of the rank and file to be heard for a closing up of these fatal gaps. It cries out for "International Unity."

It is a cry that should be heard. It is a cry that should be heeded. That it will fall on many deaf ears goes without saying. But there is, deep in the hearts of the workers, that desire which this "manifesto" seeks to answer.

Only one road lies before all workers' movements toward the accomplishment of this aim. It is the destruction of doctrinairism. Quarreling over words and phrases has been one of the chief curses of the organized working groups—whether dubbed "radical" or "reactionary". Let each see the peculiar problems facing the other. Let each have consideration for those particular problems and situations. Let each speak out their viewpoints, but in a common forum. That will be the beginning of the unity that ought to be.

CHEMICAL WAR AFOOT

It is not enough that we have the Oil War on our hands. The U. S. A. is lined up against Europe, or vice versa, on another vital question.

A battle to the death over control of the chemical industry appears to be in the offing.

Before the war Germany was the only country which was a world producer of chemicals. From 80 to 90 per cent of the world's supply was furnished by that country alone.

The Great War tore from Deutschland this commanding position. The U. S. A., Japan, Great Britain, France and Italy began the production of their own chemicals. In the United States, the Chemical Foundation grew into a huge monopoly. In Britain, a number of large companies arose, now pretty well consolidated under the leadership of Sir Alfred Mond.

Despite these developments, Germany began to gain back many of her lost markets after the close of the conflict. Her chemical combine leaped forward by huge jumps. To make assurance doubly sure, international combin-

ation was resorted to, in which Germany, Great Britain, France and Norway joined hands.

This caused consternation in the camp of the American Chemical Foundation. It has determined to be as supreme in its field as Standard Oil aspires to be in its own. The European combine was hailed by the Foundation "as a declaration of war on the United States." Again, it called the new alliance a "military offensive" against America.

We thus see the gradual drawing of the lines of industrial conflict between the United States and Europe—in Oil and Chemicals. Underneath it and within it are the germs of actual world blood-letting. Must the workers merely look piteously on, as they bleatingly go into this coming slaughter? We believe the proper answer is clear. It is: **EMPHATICALLY NO!**

COTTON AND COAL—SICK

The world over, coal and cotton are having a bad time of it. Naturally, when we say that, we mean that the workers in those industries are in difficulties.

It is always the workers who pay for the sickness of in-

dustry, brought about through the stupidity and greed of the masters.

In Britain a cotton "crisis" exists. Universal wage cuts are the happy remedy proposed by the textile manufacturers. It is safe to say that the organized workers in that industry are confronted with the greatest challenge to their resourcefulness and power that they have had for 25 years. It is the same in our own U. S. A., of course, where wage cuts are becoming a chronic disease.

Since the Great Strike, the British miners' lot is an increasingly terrible one. While the textile workers are contending with a threatened 12½ per cent wage cut and an increase in hours from 48 to 52, the miners' wages fall lower and lower. Not satisfied with hitting the lowest possible wage rate, the coal owners are endeavoring to bring about further readjustments. There is a movement in a number of quarters to get rid of older men altogether. Starvation and misery still walk through the British coal fields.

On the continent, the state of affairs is not much better. And in the U. S. A., as we know, the slaughter of the miners and their wives and children, under the Mellon-Schwab-Rockefeller program, goes forward as per schedule.

FRANCE AND GERMANY

The general elections in France give Poincare a safe majority on internal questions and financial politics that appertain to the franc and its stabilization. This majority is by no means a safe one and should Poincare try to pay France's war debts to U. S. A. without receiving a corresponding return from Germany in reparations, it would crack. Here is where Briand comes in and gets his share of the power, for he is a leader of the elements that have quibbled and dodged on the War debts since the Versailles Treaty.

The German official classes, in so far as Berlin speaks for them, for once are not displeased with Poincare's victory. Perhaps the reason for this is that Poincare and the leading German statesmen speak for the big industrialists of both countries. The manner in which the industrial magnates on both sides of the Rhine are co-operating and forming interlocking companies, or agreements which amount to the same thing, explains, economically, the new orientation of German and French politics. The historic battleground of the two nations has become the connecting link between them. This is only natural for after all business and industry are in the long run the master. Politicians simply echo the masters' wants, hopes and fears.

BRITAIN'S BUDGET

British politics this month largely revolved around the new budget as proposed by Chancellor Winston Churchill.

Old free trade spokesmen like Lloyd George and others protested in vain against the protectionist clauses of the Finance Bill. Slowly but surely Britain is drifting into the meshes of Protectionism. It is done because the British have no other means of helping themselves. One of the most startling phases of Churchill's new finance bill is the centralization proposals and the

OUCH!



The New Leader (London, Eng.)

Concerned as the British workers are about their own unemployment problem, they look across the Atlantic and see that the shoe also pinches Uncle Sam.

subsidies given, in the shape of remission of local taxes, to big industrialists. One also sees the germ of Henry George's Single Tax ideas and doctrines in the Churchill budget.

Labor has so far been ineffective in any criticism of the budget, due in part to the big Tory majority and to the Bismarckian social reform legislation of the Conservative party.

CHINA

The news from China would lead one to believe that the Communist elements and the forces they were directing have been pushed off the picture or have experienced a total eclipse. It also reveals that the group that might be called the Girondists is on top and are pushing on with a bourgeois revolution. All revolutionary elements pretend to worship at the shrine of Dr. Sun but it does appear that the commercial elements and middle class property holding classes are directing the Nationalist forces.



“Say It With Books”



POLITICAL FUNDAMENTALISM

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT, by William Bennett Munro, Macmillan Co. \$1.75

BOOKS may be divided into four categories—(1) the epoch-making type to which belong the “Origin of Species” and “Das Kapital”; (2) the non-epoch-making but original work which contributes some new ideas like Nordau’s “Interpretation of History” or G. D. H. Cole’s “Labor in the Commonwealth”; (3) books which say nothing new or startling but are decidedly illuminating to most people; and (4) just books which clutter the library shelves. Prof. Munro’s book belongs to the third category and will prove interesting reading to most history teachers and readers. As for the average American and the 100 per cent Nordic the book may shock their self-complacency and thus make mental reactions possible.

In his first chapters on Fundamentalism in Politics and the Myth of Popular Sovereignty, Prof. Munro states that the American people are dominated by shibboleths and precepts of a by-gone age. The result has been the development of a non-critical or complacent attitude which has transformed them into political fundamentalists. This, in part, accounts for the hostility to radical movements or the difficulty of establishing a third political party standing for radical ideas.

Prof. Munro in his forceful and delightful manner shows that the governmental axioms on which our democracy rests are just buncombe. He states that our government is not ruled by the majority but by a small minority; that all men are neither created free nor are they equal; that our government is not one of law but of men (especially when we take injunction judges into consideration); that checks and balances are not essential to popular liberty; that direct primaries do not insure the choice of the people; or that a government which governs least is best. To him democratic government must be both expensive and inefficient.

The self-revealing ideas of the first few chapters gradually give way to the “soft pedal” when the chapters on the Money Power and Propaganda are discussed. Prof. Munro gives a conventional picture of the Money Power and insists that the notion that the Money Power is **harmful to the people is an illusion.** He tries to justify his startling statement by citing instances dealing with events prior to 1880 before the Money Power, as we understand it, came into being. Even if his few citations were relevant his conclusion would be false because a “non-sequitur”. After reading this chapter on the Money Power

one would hardly get any concept of the corrupting and corroding influence it has exerted not only upon our political but also upon our educational life. It seems strange indeed that one who can write so intelligently upon Fundamentalism in Politics should develop blinders or intellectual astigmatism when dealing with the Money Power. Evidently the Pugo Report, the Sinclair-Fall Scandals, the Super-Power Lobby, etc., have no meaning to Prof. Munro.

When Prof. Munro treats our strengthening sectionalism he recovers his brilliancy and his philosophical and critical attitude. In this chapter he emphasizes the power of geography in moulding opinion. He believes that party influence is relatively small as shown by the vote on sectional questions. Party affiliation, says Prof. Munro, rests largely upon ancestry, association, occupation, etc. The party names “Republican or Democrat” mean nothing when they include a LaFollette and a Coolidge or a Smith and an Underwood. Great questions like the Tariff, Boulder Dam, Muscle Shoals, etc., are determined by geography and not party affiliation. This movement toward political sectionalism received its first recognition in the Federal Reserve Act. Sooner or later our national future will be moulded by the outstanding fact that **America is a league of nations within a nation.** The recognition of this fundamental fact should result in the reorganization of our government, recognizing sectional interests and resulting in sectional representation.

Those who believe that progress may be furthered by mental awakening will do well to present a copy of this 164 page book of stimulating essays to every 100 per cent American and to every average school teacher.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

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LEARNING THE LANGUAGE

ENGLISH FOR WORKERS, By Eli Jacobson, International Publishers. \$1.00.

AT last we have a text book in English suitable for use in the labor movement. "English for Workers" is a miracle of condensation: 31 lessons in reading, spelling, "phonics", vocabulary building, grammar. Five appendices supply, besides word lists of various kinds, models for letter-writing and minute-taking.

The maker of these lessons is a skilled teacher. The book fits the group for which it is designed; the exercises are admirable in gradation, in proportion, in variety; the reading lessons, interesting enough to hold attention—even to problems in grammar. A book like this has evolved instead of having been manufactured. Plainly it has grown out of a fruitful teaching experience—the experience of Eli Jacobson and the English staff at the Workers' School.

Custom-made for foreigners, for class conscious foreigners in New York, the book fits like a supple glove. The subject matter is mainly the class struggle; the vocabulary is the vehicle for controversy on the class struggle; the exercises aim to correct speech dislocations current in the Bronx and on lower Broadway. There are three chapters on New York, a chapter on Dayton, Tennessee, one on "Plutocracy", one on "Vegetarianism"; others deal with "An Imperialist War", with "the Machine Age", "The Scab": exceptionally well done is "Twenty-four Hours with Sacco and Vanzetti". "Which is your favorite symphony orchestra?" asks the metropolitan. "Which operas do you prefer, German or Italian?" The little book covers a big range—from anti-fundamentalism to anti-craft-unionism; from anti-nationalism to anti-liberalism. It is an encyclopedia of radicalism.

These exceedingly informative reading lessons are with few exceptions phrased in idiomatic English. Lessons in grammar based upon the reading lessons have with but few exceptions discarded the Latinized terminology still demanded by the New York Regents' examinations. If the book is to be criticised at all it is for its virtues. Fitting exactly a group which places its emphasis upon the political activities of the labor movement, the book has striking omissions. Mention of economic organization is infrequent. There is for example no chapter advocating industrial unionism. A book so competently planned to interest the New York Workers' School classes could with a little revision be made to serve a wider circle in the labor movement.

"English for Workers" is the first of a series. We look forward to Book II.

JOSEPHINE COLBY.

CORRECTION

Inadvertently, the authors of "Employment Statistics for the United States," were misstated in the April number in the article entitled, "Dealing in Futures."

The authors are Ralph C. Hurlin and William A. Berridge.

M. H. H.

A USEFUL BULLETIN

Unemployment: The Problem and Some Proposed Remedies is the title of a paper which appears in a recent number of the Information Service bulletin published by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

While the facts and proposals contained therein were prepared primarily for the consideration of church folks, they are well worth the examination of labor men and women.

Copies of this bulletin, dated March 17, 1928, at 15 cents each, may be obtained from the Council, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1928, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Leonard Bright, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 3 West 16th St., New York City.

Business Manager—Leonard Bright, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

2. That the owner is (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); James H. Maurer, President, 430 North St., Harrisburg Pa.; Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer 70 Fifth Ave., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Secretary, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

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LEONARD BRIGHT,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of April, 1928.

(Seal)

ERNEST BOHM,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1929)

A NEW SERVICE TO OUR READERS

The LABOR AGE SERVICE BUREAU will gladly answer questions from LABOR AGE readers with regard to any problem touched upon in its pages, or will supply any available information concerning the movement, including Workers' Education.

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